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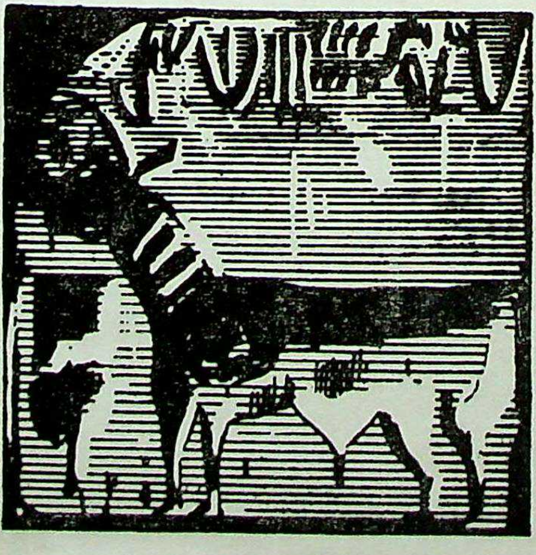

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXXI **March, 1955** **No. 1**

Kurukṣetra in the Later Sanskrit Literature

I. *Boundaries and Area*

(A) The ancient Kuru realm may be said to have comprised the region of Kurukṣetra, Sonepat, Amīn, Karnāl, Pānipat etc.;[1] while Kurukṣetra indicated the area between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī rivers: —

दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च ।
ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिपिष्टपे ॥[2]
उत्तरेण दृषद्वत्या दक्षिणेन सरस्वतीम् ।
ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिपिष्टपे ॥[3]

Dr. B. C. Law (*op. cit.*, p. 28) proposes to identify this region with the ancient Kuru country which has also been mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*[4]. The region lying between these ancient holy rivers[5] was very sacred indeed. According to the *Śaktisaṅgama*

Abbreviations used: —

CASR = *Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report*, Calcutta.
Suk. = Sukthankara, V.S.
Vām. = *The Vāmana Purāṇa*, Veṅkaṭeśwara Press, Chap. 22.
MB. = *The Mahābhārata.*
VP. = *Vana Parva.*
AP. = *Āraṇyaka Parva.*
SP. = *Śalya Parva.*

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[1] B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, 1937, London, p. 132; cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., Calcutta, p. 20.

[2] *VP.*, 83. 4, P. C. Roy ed., Śaka year 1804, Calcutta.

[3] *Ibid.*, verse 205, p. 226. They who reside in the region of Kurukṣetra really reside in heaven.

[4] Written in the first or second century A.D.

[5] Cf. सरस्वती-दृषद्वत्योरन्तरे कुरुजाङ्गले...etc., in *Vām.*, chap. 22, verse 47. The *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa [Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan ed., Bombay, 1943] relates to several stories connected with the Kuru-Jāṅgala country.

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Tantra[6], the Kuru country began from Hastināpura and lay to the south of Kurukṣetra and to the east of Pañcāla:—

हस्तिनापुरमारभ्य कुरुक्षेत्रस्य दक्षिणे ।
पञ्चालपूर्वभागे तु कुरुदेश प्रकीर्तितः ॥

The *Vāmana Purāṇa* (XXXIII. 8-9) too refers to the boundaries as depicted in the *Mahābhārata*. It was really a holy area called by the name of *Brahmāvarta*[7]:—

वासः पुंसां कुरुक्षेत्रमुक्तिरुक्ता चतुर्विधा ।[8]
सरस्वती दृषद्वत्योर्द्वयोर्नद्योर्यदन्तरम् ।
तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥[9]

The *Brahmarṣi-deśa*, according to Manu, included Kurukṣetra, the Matsyas, the Pañcālas, the Śūrasenakas etc., and that it was quite different from *Brahmāvarta*:—

सरस्वती-दृषद्वत्योः देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम् ।
तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥१७
कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पाञ्चालाः शूरसेनकाः ।
एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मावर्तादनन्तरम् ॥१८

[मनुस्मृति, II. 17-18]

Thus it is evident that *Brahmāvarta*, in the time of Manu, comprised the same region as has been called *Brahmāvarta* in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. But Manu seems to have included Kurukṣetra in the list of the countries forming a part of the

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[6] Cited in the *Hindi Viśvakośa*, V, 1922, Calcutta, p. 132.

[7] Similar views have also been put forth by Manu; cf. the *Manu Smṛti*, II. 17; *Hindi Viśvakośa, op. cit.*, pp. 133-5.

In the earlier history of India, the centre of civilization was tending to be localised in the land between these two rivers [*Cambridge History of India*; I, p. 116; also pp. 47, 120, 289, 307-8]. The close association of the Vedic poets with this region is a well-known fact [*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, VI, pp. 549-53; *Vedic Age*, 1951, London, pp. 245, 274, 251-2, 292, 319 etc.].

[8] i.e. *VP.*, P. C Roy ed., 83. 208, p. 227.

[9] i.e. *SP.*, Sātavalekar ed., 53. 24. Note the phrase *prajāpati* here instead of *pitāmaha* of *VP.*, cf. प्रजापतेरुत्तरवेदिरुच्यते सनातनं रामसमन्तपञ्चकम् in chap. 53, verse 1 of *SP.*, *op. cit*; ब्रह्मवेदिः कुरुक्षेत्रं in the *Vām.*, XXXIII 15; उत्तरवेदि सा देवलोके प्रजापते in *SP.*, 55. 9.

Brahmarṣi-deśa. Does it mean that Kurukṣetra was something quite different from the region lying between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī rivers ?

(B) The country of Kurukṣetra was also situated between *Tarantuka*, *Arantuka*, *Rāmahrada* and *Macakruka*; and this *Kurukṣetra-Samantapañcaka* has been styled as the "Northern Altar of *Pitāmaha*" :—

तरन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्यदन्तरं रामह्रदानां च मचक्रुकस्य च ।
एतत्कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिरुच्यते ॥[8]
तरन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्यदन्तरं रामह्रदानां च मचक्रुकस्य च ।
एतत्कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं प्रजापतेरुत्तरवेदिरुच्यते ॥[9]

Guardian Yakṣas:—E. W. Hopkins [*Epic Mythology*, 1915, Strassburg, p. 149] states that Arantuka, Tarantuka, Macakruka[10] are the *Yakṣa*-gatekeepers[11] as well as the holy places bounding the holy land. According to the *Mahāmāyūrī* (57-58) the phrase *Yakṣendrau* included *Tarārka* and *Kutarārka*. These two *Yakṣas* seem to have been the same as Tarantuka and Arantuka of the *MB* cited above.

According to the modern *Māhātmyas*, relating to Kurukṣetra[12], the guardian-*Yakṣas* of the region of Kurukṣetra were as follows :—

(i) Ratna *Yakṣa* for N. E. Corner.
(ii) Arantuka *Yakṣa* for N. W. Corner.
(iii) Kapila *Yakṣa* for S. W. Corner.
(iv) Macakruka *Yakṣa* for S. E. Corner.

According to Alexander Cunningham [*CASR*; XIV, p. 89], "here 4 names belong to 4 *Yakṣas* (demons) who are said to have sung

---

[10] Also read as Macakraka and Maṅkaṇaka.

[11] The Macakruka *tirtha* is said to have been guarded by *Yakṣa-Dvārapāla* [*VP.*, Suk. ed., 81. 7) :—

मचक्रुकं राजन्द्वारपालं महाबलम् ।
यक्षं समभिवाद्य गोसहस्रफलं लभेत् ॥

Cf. *ibid.*, 81. 13 for the Tarantuka, and chap. 171 for Arantuka. Arantuka has been called as 'Lord of the Yakṣas' (*Yakṣendra*) in *Vp.*, 81. 42 :—

ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र द्वारपालमरन्तुकम् ।
तस्य तीर्थं सरस्वत्यां यक्षेन्द्रस्य महात्मनः ।
तत्र स्नात्वा नरो राजन्नग्निष्टोमफलं लभेत् ॥

[12] The *Kurukṣetra Tirtha Nirṇaya*, cited in *CASR.*, XIV, p. 89.

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and danced with joy during the battle while they drank the blood of the slain".

Cunningham (*ibid*; p. 90) also tries to identify these corners when he states that "the S.W. corner is placed at Rāmray, 5 miles to the S.W. of Jīnd where there are said to have been both a Rāmahrada and Kapila *tīrtha*. The S. E. corner is at Sinkh, very nearly between Jīnd and Pānipat, on the bank of a stream which is said to be the old bed of the Rākṣī or the Dṛiṣdvatī. There is still a *Yakṣa-kuṇḍa* at Sinkh. The N. E. corner is at Ratna-*Yakṣa* or Ratna *Jakkha* close to Pīpalī on the Sarasvatī. Lastly, the N. W. corner is at Ber or Baher to the W. N. W. of Kaithal where also there is a *Yakṣa-kuṇḍa*...Thus the estimate of the size of the region of Kurukṣetra agrees with the other name given in the *Mahābhārata* or Samantapañcaka on every side, 5 or 20 *Yojanas* all round the four sides".

According to Hemacandra[13], the area of Kurukṣetra amounted to about 12 *Yojanas* and that it was a very sacred place:—

गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्यमन्तर्वेदि समस्थली ।
ब्रह्मावर्तं सरस्वत्याः दृषद्वत्याश्च मध्यतः ॥१५
ब्रह्मावेदि कुरुक्षेत्रे पञ्चरामह्रदान्तरम् ।
धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे द्वादशयोजनावधि ॥१६

II. *Why the name was Kurukṣetra?*

It has been narrated in *SP.* (52-3) that *Haladhara* Balarāma once approached the gate of the Samantapañcaka *tīrtha* and enquired about the *Kurukṣetra-phalam* from the sages who replied thus:—"This Samantapañcaka is said to be eternal Northern Altar of Prajāpati and it was here that, in days gone by, the gods happened to perform a great sacrifice. The sage-king Kuru had cultivated this field for many days. Hence it came to be denoted as Kurukṣetra (i.e. Field of Kuru) after his name:—

प्रजापतेरुत्तरवेदिरुच्यते सनातनं राम समन्तपञ्चकम् ।
समीजिरे यत्रपुरा दिवौकसो वरेणसत्रेण महावरप्रदः ॥
पुरा च राजर्षिवरेण धीमता बहूनि वर्षाणि अमितेन तेजसा ।
प्रकृष्टमेतत्कुरुणा महात्मनः ततः कुरुक्षेत्रमितीहपप्रथ ॥
[*SP.*, Sātav. ed., 53. 1-2]

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[13] In his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, IV. 15-16, Bhāvanagara ed., Veer Era, 2441, p. 379; cf. *CASR.*, XIV, pp. 87, 90-91 for the views of Cunningham.

महिम्ना तस्य कुरवो लेभिरे प्रत्ययं भृशम् ।
तस्यनाम्नाभिविख्यातं पृथिव्यां कुरुजाङ्गलम् ॥३७
कुरुक्षेत्रं स तपसा पुण्यं चक्रे महातपाः ॥३८

[*Ādi-Parva*[14], 101. 37-8]

The *SP.*[15] further narrates that in days of yore, Kuru was engaged perseveringly in tilling the field. Requested by Indra he said—"those that will die on this plain shall proceed to the regions of bliss after being cleansed of their sins. Śakra, ridiculing this, went back to heaven. This happened repeatedly. Indra summoned the gods who asked him to stop Kuru by granting him a boon; if men by only dying there were to come to heaven without having performed sacrifices to us, our very existence would be endangered. Indra then came and they agreed that Kuru should not toil anymore but those that would die there, having abstained from food with all their senses awake and those that would perish there in battle, should go straight to heaven...etc". Similar views have also been propounded in the *Vām* (XXII. 20 ff.)[16]. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* informs us that Ṛkṣa continued the line of Hastināpura and his grandson (Kuru) founded the city of Kurukṣetra [cf. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 12]. This Kuru was born from the womb of Tapatī, daughter of Sūrya [तपत्यां सूर्यकन्यायां कुरुक्षेत्रपतिः कुरुः *Bhāgavat*, IX. 22. 4.].

Even Alberuni was fully aware of the fact that Kuru gave his own name to Kurukṣetra. According to Alberuni, "another place of the kind (i.e. holy) is Tāneshar, also called Kurukṣetra, i.e. land of Kuru, who was a pleasant, a pious holy man who worked miracles by divine power. Therefore the country was called after him and venerated for his sake" [E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, 1910, London, p. 147].

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[14] i.e. *South Indian Text* as edited by Kṛṣṇācārya, 1906, Bombay, p. 183; cf. Roy ed., 94. 48-9; B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 24.

[15] *Index to the MB.*, Sorensen ed., London, 1904, p. 442, chap. 53.

[16] Cf. also the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ānandāśrama series, XCIX. 215. For Indra's ridicule of the holiness of Kurukṣetra, consult E. W. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

A 14th century A.D. Jain work too refers to the facts cited above. According to this work : —

…………कुरुर्नृपः ।।१
कुरुक्षेत्रमिति ख्यातं राष्ट्रमेतत्तदाख्यया ।।२

III. *Samantapañcaka and Rāmahrada*

Samantapañcaka of the *Ādi Parva* and *AP*. was "another name of Kurukṣetra, evidently a Bhārgava name. The people of India have forgotten this Bhārgava synonym; they remembered only Kurukṣetra—a name which has struck deep root into the memory of the people"[18]. It was here that Bhārgava Rāma, after extirpating the Kṣatriya race during the interval between the Tretā and the Dvāpara *Yugas*, made 5 tanks of blood dedicated to his forefathers[19] : —

स सर्वं क्षत्रमुत्साद्य स्ववीर्येणानलद्युति ।
समन्तपञ्चके पञ्च चकार रुधिरह्रदान् ।।४
स तेषु रुधिराम्भस्सु ह्रदेषु क्रोधमूर्च्छितः ।
पितॄन्संतर्पयामास रुधिरेणेति नः श्रुतम् ।।५
तेषां समीपे यो देशो ह्रदानां रुधिराम्भसाम् ।
समन्तपञ्चकमिति पुण्यं तत्परिकीर्तितम् ।।७

A similar story has also been narrated (in connection with the (Rāmahrada at Kurukṣetra) in the *AP*. (III. 81. 22-3; *ibid*, 117.5 (ff.).[20] Dr. V. S. Sukthankar seems to be justified in identifying Rāmahrad with Samantapañcaka [*Annals*……, *op. cit.*, p. 20]. It was later on that the Great War of the *Mahābhārata* too was fought on this very spot[21] : —

समन्तपञ्चकं युद्धं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः ।।

Bhāsa, the well known predecessor of Kālīdāsa, too refers to Samantapañcaka in his famous work—the *Urubhangam*. Dr. V. S. Agrawala[22] is of the opinion that the place was so called for its

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[17] i.e. *Vividha-tīrtha Kalpa*, edited by Jinaprabha-sūri, Śāntiniketana, 1934, p. 94.

[18] V. S. Sukthankar, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, XVIII, 1937, pp. 5-6.

[19] *Ādi Parva*, Suk. ed., I. 2-12.

[20] Cf. *Śānti Parva*, P. C. Roy ed., chap. 48, verses 3-14, p. 109.

[21] *Ādi Parva*, Suk. ed., I, 2. 9; *ibid.*, I. 1. II.

[22] *Hindi Hindustāna Weekly*, New Delhi, April 18, 1954, p. 19.

circumference (*paridhi*) was about 5 *Yojanas* (cf. *vedi prajāpatereṣā samantāt pañca yojanā kurorvai yajñaśīlasya kṣetrametatmahātmanaḥ* in the *AP.*, Suk.. ed., 122, verse 22). Dr. Agrawala also tries to identify Rāmahrada with Vedic 'Saryaṇāvat' which was also called 'Brahmasara' after some time.

The abode of the famous *Yakṣī* too was situated near the Rāmahrada [*AP.*, Suk. ed., 81. 19-20] :—

तत्रैव महाराज यक्षी लोकपरिश्रुता ।
तां चाभिगम्य राजेन्द्र पुण्यांल्लोकानवाप्नुयात् ॥१९
कुरुक्षेत्रं तद्द्वारं विश्रुतं भरतर्षभः ।
प्रदक्षिणमुपावृत्य तीर्थसेवी समाहितः ॥२०

In chap. 129 of the *ĀP.*, the same *Yakṣī* has been addressed as a *Paiśacī*. It is very likely, as Dr. Agrawala also thinks, that she happened to have been the tutelary deity of some primitive tribe and that she lived on non-vegetarian diet. In *ĀP.* (chap. 129, verse 8), she has been described as putting on *ulūkhala* ornaments [cf. *ulūkhalai-rābharaṇaiḥ piśācī*]. It is simply interesting to find her designation *Ulūkhala-mekhalā* as narrated in the *Mahāmāyūrī*[24]. It is further narrated in the *ĀP* (chap. 129. 9-11) that she is said to have warned the pilgrims "not to stay there for more than a day." In case one liked to stay for the second night, he would find just the contrary to what he had met during the previous night there :—

उलूखलैराभरणै पिशाची यदभाषत ।
युगन्धरे[25] दधिप्राश्य उषित्वा चाच्युतस्थले ।
तद्वद्भूतिलये स्नात्वा सपुत्रा वसितुमिच्छसि ॥९
एकरात्रमुषित्वेह द्वितीयं यदि निवत्स्यसि ।
एतद्वै ते दिवा वृत्तं रात्रौ वृत्तमतोऽन्यथा ॥१०
अत्राद्य निवत्स्यामः क्षपां भरतसत्तम ।
द्वारमेतद्धि कौन्तेय कुरुक्षेत्रस्य भारत ॥११

This led Dr. Agrawala (*op. cit.*, p. 20) to suggest that the above verses perhaps refer to the social conditions (of the Kurukṣetra region) in

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[23] Cf. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 364; Cunningham's *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, London, pp. 331-2, 334-5; *ibid.*, 1924 ed., pp. 384-5.

[24] As cited by Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 19. *Ulūkhala*, in the Sanskrit language, "is a particular ornament for the ear" [Monier Williams, *A Skt-Eng, Dict.*, 1899, Oxford, p. 218].

[25] Modern Jagādhari (in the Ambālā district of the E. Panjab) which is not very far from Thānesar (i.e. Kurukṣetra).

the second century B.C. It is of course evident that the holy tract had lost much of its sanctity by the time the above verses came to be composed [cf. E.W. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 209].

IV. *Sthāṇvīśvara or Thānesar*

The Buddhist literature refers to two villages (of Kuru realm) which were said to have been visited by Lord Buddha himself. But these places[26] lay between the Ganges and the Yamunā. It is also interesting to find the use of the phrase *Kurukhetta*[27] in the sense of "the country of the Kurus" but the Pālī literature fails to throw any light on the history of Kurukṣetra in the contemporary times.

Yuan-Chuang, the famous Chinese pilgrim visiting India in the seventh century A.D., describes Thānesar as the westernmost boundary of the Buddhist Middle-country whereas the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mahāvagga* (V. 13. 12) mention Thūna or Sthūna as its western boundary. This led S.M. Śāstrī[28] to identify these places with Sthāṇvīśvara, modern Thānesar (another name for Kurukṣetra). Dr. B. C. Law[29] too is of the same opinion.

St. Martin[30] has identified *Ostobalassara* [*Stobollosara*] of Ptolemy with Thānesar. Cunningham however thinks that Thānesar is Ptolemy's *Betang Kaiser* and suggests to read *Satan-Aisara* to make the name approach nearer to Skt. *Sthāṇvīśvara*, the *Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo* of Yuan Chuang.

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[26] Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, *The Majjhima Nikāya*, 1933, Sarnath, p. 6 of the introduction; G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of the Pāli Proper Names*, 1937, London, I, pp. 528-9; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 1950, p. 19.

[27] i.e. Skt. Kurukṣetra. For the Pāli form consult Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 642. King Jarāsandha is said to have resided in Kurukhetta (Cowell and Rouse, The *Jātaka*, VI, 1907, London, p. 141). Kurukhetta also occurs in the commentary of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*—as cited by J. C. Jain in *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, 1947, Bombay, p. 374.

[28] McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1927, Calcutta, p. 367; cf. Cunningham's *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1924, p. xliii of introduction.

[29] B. C. Law's Works: *Geography of Early Buddhism*, 1932, London, p. 2, f.n. 2 and *Geographical Essays*, 1937, London, p. 40.

[30] *McCrindle's*............, *op. cit.*, p. 128; cf. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 1921, p. 261 and f.n. 2 of p. 261.

The *Purāṇas* throw a good deal of light on the sanctity of the *Sthāṇu*[31] *Tīrtha* which was situated in the region of Kurukṣetra. That might have also given the name to the place:—

कुरुक्षेत्रे तु देवर्षे स्थाणुर्नाम महेश्वरः ।[32]
तदेव तीर्थमभवत् स्थानेश्वरमिति स्मृतम् ।
स्थानेश्वरमनुप्राप्य शिवसायुज्यमाप्नुयात् ॥[33]

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* (XII. 31) there used to exist a *pīṭha* of goddess Bhavānī at Sthāneśvara [*sthāneśvare tu bhavānī*]. The *Vṛhatsvayambhu Purāṇa*[34] [as edited by H. P. Śāstrī] too furnishes the name of the place as Sthāneśvara :—

स्थानेश्वरेन युक्तं च वाग्मत्याश्च विशेषतः ।
स्त्रियश्च मानुषाश्चापि तत्तीर्थे स्नानकारितम् ॥

The *Āryamañju śrī-mūla-kalpa* (III.—as edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, 1925, p. 626) informs that the place was closely associated with the *janapada* named Śrīkaṇṭha : —

सप्तमष्टशता त्रीणि श्रीकण्ठवासिनस्तदा ।
आदित्यनामा वैश्यास्ते स्थानमीश्वरवासिनः ॥

The house of the Puṣyabhūtis was ruling at Thānesar before the accession of Harṣavardhana to the imperial throne[35]. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, in his famous work the *Harṣacarita* (Chap. III), presents a graphic view of the contemporary conditions as prevalent in the Śrikaṇṭha country and its prominent *janapada* named Sthāṇvīśvara. The Sanskrit text[36] runs thus:—

……"श्रीकण्ठो" नाम जनपदः ।……तत्रचैवं विधे नानारामाभिराम-कुसुम-गन्धपरिमलसुभगो यौवनारम्भ इव धर्मस्य, कुङ्कुममलनपिञ्जरित (or मलनापञ्जरित) बहु

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[31] i.e. Śiva. It has also been narrated in the account of the Pañcavaṭa *tīrtha* that god Sthāṇu had himself appeared there [योगेश्वरः स्थाणु स्वयमेव वृषभध्वजः—*AP.*, Suk. ed., 81. 141-2].

[32] *The Saura Purāṇa*, Ānandāśrama Series, Śaka year 1811, p. 276, chap. 67. 13-15. Cf. also *Vām.*, chapters 43 and 46; *CASR.*, II, p. 217 about Sthāṇu *Tirtha* where King Veṇa had dedicated a shrine to Śiva under the name Sthāṇu.

[33] *The Liṅga Purāṇa*, Calcutta ed., Śaka year 1812, p. 52, chap. 36 verse 77.

[34] *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, Calcutta, 1897, p. 261.

[35] Cf. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kannauj*, Banaras, pp. 22 f.n. 1, 28, 30, 50, 55, 65, 78 9, 199.

[36] The *Harṣacarita* as edited by P. V. Kane, 1918, Bombay, chap. III,

महिषी सहस्रशोभितोऽन्तःपुर निवेश इव धर्मस्य, मरुदुद्धूयमानचमरीबालव्यजन शतं (व्यजनधवलित) धवलित प्रान्त एकदेश इव सुरराज्यस्य, ज्वलन्मखशिखिसहस्रदीप्यमान दशदिगन्तः शिविरसन्निवेश इव कृतयुगस्य, पद्मासनस्थितब्रह्मर्षिध्यानाधीयामान सकलाकुशलप्रशमः प्रथमोऽवतार इव ब्रह्मलोकस्य, कलकलमुखरमहावाहिनीशतसङ्कुलो विपक्ष (or विक्षेप) इवोत्तर कुरूणाम् ईश्वर मार्गण सन्तापानभिज्ञ सकलजनो विजिगीषुरिव त्रिपुरस्य, सुधारससिक्त धवलगृहपङ्क्तिपाण्डुरः प्रतिनिधिरिव चन्द्रलोकस्य, मधुमत्तमत्तकाशिनी (or मधुमदमत्तकासिनी) भूषणरवभरितभुवनो नामाभिहार इव कुबेरनगरस्य, स्थाणीश्वराख्यो जनपदविशेषः यस्तपोवनमिति मुनिभिः कामायतनमिति वेश्याभिः, संगीतशालेति लासकैः, यमनगरमिति शत्रुभिः चिन्तामणिभूमिरित्यर्थिभिः वीरक्षेत्रमिति शस्त्रोपजीविभिः, गुरुकुलमिति विद्यार्थिभिः, गन्धर्वनगरमिति गायनैः विश्वकर्ममन्दिरमिति विज्ञानिभिः, लाभभूमिरिति वैदेहकैः, द्यूतस्थानमिति वन्दिभिः, साधुसमागम ईति सद्भिः, वज्रपञ्जरमिति शरणागतैः, विटगोष्ठीति विदग्धैः, सुकृत इति परिणाम पथिकैः, असुरविवरमिति वातिकैः, शाक्याश्रम इति समिभिः, अप्सरपुरमिति कामिभिः, महोत्सवसमाज इति चारणैः वसुधारेति च विप्रैरगृह्यत ॥

यत्र च मातङ्गगामिन्यः शीलवत्यश्च, गौर्या विभवताराश्च, श्यामाः पद्मरागिण्यश्च, धवलद्विजशुचिवदना मदिरामोदि श्वसाश्च, चन्द्रकान्तवपुषः शिरीषकोमलाङ्ग्यश्च, अभुजङ्गगम्याः कञ्चुकिन्यश्च, पृथुकलत्रश्रियो दरिद्रमध्यकलिताश्च, लावण्यवत्यो मधुरभाषिण्यश्च अप्रमताः प्रसन्नोज्ज्वलरागाश्च (or मुखरागाश्च), अकौतुकाः प्रौढाश्च प्रमदाः ॥

यत्र च प्रमदानां चक्षुरेव सहगं मुण्डमालामण्डनं भारः कुवलयदलदामानि। अलकप्रतिबिम्बान्येव कपोलतलगतान्यक्लिष्टा श्रवणावतंसाः पुनरुक्तानि तमालकिसलयानि। प्रियकथा एव सुभगाः कर्णालङ्कारा अडम्बरः कुण्डलानि (or कुण्डलादिः)। कपोला एव सततमालोककारका विभवो निशासु मणिप्रदीपाः। निश्वासाकृष्टमधुकरकुलान्येव रमणीयं मुखावरणं कुलस्त्रीजनाचारो जालिका। वाण्येव मधुरा वीणा नाद्यविज्ञानं तन्त्रीताडनम्। हासा एवातिशयसुरभयः पटवासा निरर्थकाः कर्पूरपांसवः। अधरकान्तिविसर एवोज्ज्वलतरोऽङ्गरागो निर्गुणो लावण्यकलङ्कः कुङ्कुमपङ्कः। बाहव एव कोमलतमाः परिहासप्रहारवेत्रलता निष्प्रयोजनानि मृणालनि। यौवनोष्मस्वेदबिन्दव एव विदग्धा कुचालङ्कृतयो हारास्तु भाराः। श्रोण्य एव विशालस्फटिक शिलातलचतुरस्रारागिणा विश्रमकारणनिमित्तं भवनमणिवेदिकाः। कमललोभनिलीनान्यलिकुलान्येव मुखराणि पदाभरणकानि निष्फलानीन्द्रनीलनूपुराणि। नूपुररवाहृता भवनकलहंसा एव समुचिताः सञ्चरणसहाया ऐश्वर्यप्रपञ्चाः परिजनाः। तत्र च.........राजा पुष्पभूतिरिति नाम्ना बभूव ॥

The above text can be translated[37] thus:—"In such a country is a certain district (*janapada*), called *Sthāṇvīśvara*, blessed like the world's first youth, with sweet fragrance of lovely flowers in diverse

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pp. 43-4. Cf. also V. S. Agrawala, *Harṣacarita eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, Hindi, 1953, Patna, pp. 55-6.

[37] Translation as given in the edition of E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, 1897, London, pp. 81 ff.

pleasances, bedecked, like the road to *dharma's gynaeceum* with many myriads of buffalos stained from rolling in saffron, whitened at its borders like a part of the celestial realm with Yak-tail flappers shaken by the winds; blazing to all the ends of heaven, like the encampment of *Kṛta* age, with thousands of flaming sacrificial fires; allaying all inauspicious signs like the *Brahma*—world's first descent by the meditation of Brahmarṣis seated in the posture of thought; thronged like a rival to the North Kurus with hundreds of great rivers uproarious with tumult surpassing Tripura as it were in having all its people unacquainted with the devastating might of Śiva's arrow, bright like the replica of the moon world. With rows of white houses plastered with stucco, like a claimant to the name of Kubera's city, oppressing the world with clanking ornaments of wine flushed beauties".

"Sages entitled it a hermitage, courtesans a lover's retreat, actors a concert hall, foes the city of death, seekers of wealth the land of philosopher's stone, sons of the sword the soil of heroes, aspirants to knowledge the preceptor's home, singers the *gandharva's* city, scientists the great Artificer's temple, merchants the land of profit, bards the gaming house, good men the gathering of the virtues, refugees the cage of adament, libertines the Rouge's meet, wayfares the reward of their good deeds, treasure-seekers the mine, quietists the Buddhist monastery, lovers the *apsara's* city, troubadours the festival congress, Brāhmaṇas the stream of wealth".

"There are women like elephants in gait, yet noble minded; virgins, yet attached to worldly pomp; dark, yet possessed of rubies; their faces are brilliant with white teeth, yet is their breath perfumed with the fragrance of wine; their bodies are like crystal, yet their limbs are soft as acacia flowers; they are unattainable by paramours, yet robed in bodies; wide are their beautiful hips, yet are possessed of thin waists; lovely are they, yet honeyed in speech; they trip not, yet have a bright, and captivating beauty; they are without curiosity, yet wedded".

"Their eyes are a natural *muṇḍamālā*-wreath, the garlands of lotus leaves are here a mere burden. The images of their curls in the convex of their cheeks are earpendants that give no trouble; *tamāla* shoots are a superfluity. The talk of their dear ones forms happy ear-ornaments; rings and the like are but affection. Their cheeks alone give a perpetual sun-shine; for pomp only have they jewelled lamps by night. Tribes of bees attracted by their breath are their beautious veils, the duty of noble women, their hair nets. Their voices are alone their sweet lutes, harp-playing is but an irrelevent accomplishment. Laughs are their exceedingly fragrant perfumes needless is the camphor powder. The gleam of their lips is a more brilliant cosmetic, saffron unguent is a worthless blot upon their loveliness. Their arms are the softest of playfully smiting wands, purposeless are lotus-stalks. Drops of the sweat of youthful warmth are their artful warmth as their artful bosom ornaments, necklaces but a burden. Their laps are broad squares of crystal slabs for their lovers; jewelled couches in their mansions a needless mean of repose. Bees clinging in greed for such lotuses are their resonant Foot-ornaments, useless are anklets of sapphire; domestic *kala-haṃsas*, summoned by the tinkle of their anklets are the unfailing companions of their walks; attendants are but the accidents."

"In that country, there arose a monarch named *Puṣpa-bhūti*".

The Betma grant, dated in *V.S.* 1076 (= 1019 A.D.) states that a certain Brāhmaṇa named Paṇḍita Delha happened to come to village Nālataḍāga from Sthāṇvīśvara[38].

V. *Ancient Rivers of Kurukṣetra-region*

It was on the banks of the rivers Āpayā, Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī that the Vedic sages and seers kindled the sacred fire[39]:—

दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहे (*R. Veda*, III. 23.4). The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* too bear testimony to the close association of these rivers with the sacred region of Kurukṣetra. Not only that, some more names of the rivers of the locality have been alluded to. Most important references to the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī have already been cited in the very beginning of the papers. Following are some of the remaining passages of sufficient importance:—

(1) वनानेतानि वै सप्तनदीः श्रृणुद्विजाः ।
सरस्वती नदी पुण्या तथा वैतरणी नदी ॥६

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[38] H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, Calcutta, 1936, p. 862.

[39] Cf. Maxmüller, *Hymns of the Ṛg Veda*, I, 1877, London, p. 226; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 374.

आपगा[40] च महापुण्या गङ्गामन्दाकिनी नदी ।
मधुश्रवा अम्लु नदी कौशिकीपापनाशिनी ॥७
दृषद्वती[41] महापुण्या हिरण्यवती नदी ।
वर्षकालवहाः सर्वा वर्जयित्वा सरस्वतीम् ॥८

[*Vām*, XXXIII. 6-8].

(ii) तत्र वैतरणी पुण्या नदी [*AP*, 18.70]

(iii) दृषद्वत्यां नरः स्नात्वा तपयित्वा च देवताः ।
अग्निष्टोमातिराजाभ्यां फलं विन्दति भारत ॥ [*ibid*., 81.70]

(iv) Confluence of Kauśikī and Dṛṣadvatī :—

कौशिक्याः संगमे यस्तु दृषद्वत्याश्च भारत ।
स्नाति वै नियताहारः सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ [*ibid*., 81.80]

(v) मानुषस्तु पूर्वेण क्रोशमात्रे महीपते ।
आपगा नाम विख्याता नदी सिद्धनिषेविताः ॥ [*ibid*., 81.55]

(vi) Confluence of Aruṇā and Sarasvatī :—

तीर्थं देव्यायथाक्रमम् सरस्वत्यारुणायाश्चसङ्गमम् लोके विश्रुतं (*ibid*., 81. 131-2).

(vii) एषा सरस्वती पुण्या दिव्या चोघवती नदी ।
एतद्विनशनं नाम सरस्वत्याविशां पते ।

[*AP*., 130.3. Suk. ed.]

(viii) The *āśrama* of Dadhīci lay across the river Sarasvatī (सरस्वत्याः परे पारे नानाद्रुमलतावृत्तम् ; *ibid*, 98.12-7) and was surrounded by trees and creepers of various kinds. The Kāmyaka *vana* (forest) lay on the banks of the river Sarasvatī [*VP*., 37.37, M. N. Dutta ed., 1896). M. N. Dutt even tries to identify the Sarasvatī with the Bhogavatī occurring in the *VP*. III, 13.20 (Suk. ed.).

Identification of the above Rivers :—

(a) According to Zimmer [cf. *Altindisches*, Leben, 18], the Vedic river Āpayā flowed very near to the Sarasvatī river, either as a small tributary which flows past Thānesar or modern Indumatī further west; while Pischel [*Vedische Studien*, 1892, II, p. 218] assigns it to Kurukṣetra. Cunningham [*CASR*, XIV, p. 89] even likes to identify the Āpagā with the Oghavatī river and opines that "Āpagā or Oghavatī is a branch of the Chitang which separates from the main stream a few miles to the west of Lāḍawā and flows past Palwala to

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[40] Cf. *AP*., 81. 154. Suk. ed.

[41] Cf. *Ibid*., 88. 1-10 for the sanctity of the Sarasvati and the Dṛṣadvati rivers; cf. also *ibid*., III. 6. 1 ff; *ibid*., chap, 129, verse 20.

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Pabnāva where it is lost in the sands. Its whole length is about 25 miles". The *AP* (81. 55-7, Suk. ed.) refers to the Āpagā river as flowing to the east of the Mānuṣā *tīrtha* :—

मानुषस्तु पूर्वेण क्रोशमात्रेमहीपते ।
आपगा नाम विख्याता नदी सिद्धनिषेविता ॥५५

(b). According to the enumeration of the rivers in the *Ṛg Veda* (X. 75. 5), the Sarasvatī river comes between the Jumnā and the Sutlej (i.e. Yamunā and Śatudri respectively). The Indologists are of the opinion that the Sarasvatī is the same as Sarsuti which flows to the west of Thāṇesar and is joined in the Paṭiālā territory by a more westerly stream Ghaggar and passing Sirsā is lost in the desert at Bhaṭner; but a dry river bed (Hākṛā or Ghaggar) can be traced from that point to the Indus[42]. On the other hand, K. C. Chaṭṭopādhyāya[43] tried to prove "that in the earlier portions of the *Ṛg Veda*, the river Sarasvatī stands for the Indus and in the 10th *Maṇḍala* of the same work it denotes the Sarsutī in Kurukṣetra".

The *Śalya Parva* seems to suggest that the name Sarasvatī was given to seven rivers[44] called *Suprabhā*, *Kāñcanākṣī*, *Viśālā*, *Manoramā*, *Oghavatī*, *Sureṇu* and *Vimalodakā*. The *Sureṇu-Sarasvatī* is said to have appeared in Kurukṣetra as a result of Kuru's penance while the *Oghavatī-Saraswatī*, happened to come to that locality because of the severe austerities performed by sage Vasiṣṭha[45].

Cunningham likes to consider only 7 rivers of the region and omits the names of the Madhussravā and the Vaitaraṇī (*CASR*., XIV. 89]. In his opinion, the Madhussravā denotes a pool while the Vaitaraṇī is identical with the Dṛṣadvatī or the Rākṣī. Cunningham also states that there is a place of pilgrimage in Kurukṣetra still called the '*Sapta-Sarasvatī*[46]' after the 7 ancient rivers of the region. As a matter of fact the Sarasvatī river was first of the Vedic rivers

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[42] *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 434-5; *CASR*., XIV, p. 88, *ibid*., II, p. 216; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 323, 363; B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, 1937, London, pp. 86-7.

[43] *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta, XV, as cited in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, III, p. 663.

[44] Cf. B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays* also.

[45] Cf. *SP*., Sātavalekar ed., 38, pp. 258 ff., verses 27 ff. for *Sureṇu-Sarasvatī* and *Oghavatī-Sarasvatī*.

[46] For *Sapta-Sārasvata* in the *MB*., consult *SP*., Sātav. ed., 38. 32 ff. and *AP*., Suk. ed., 81. 97 ff.

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and its banks witnessed the development of the Vedic sacrifices (*Vedic Age*, 1951, London, p. 242).

(c). As regards the identification of the river Vinaśana, Dr. B. C.Law [*Geoprapbical Essays, op. cit.*, pp. 86-7) is of the opinion that "Vinaśana was the traditional boundary and extremity of Āryāvarta and Madhyadeśa. In the *Ṛg Vedic* age, it was a mighty river and flowed into the sea [*Maxmuller, Ṛg Veda Saṃbitā*, p. 46]. It disappears for a time in the sand near the village of Chalaur and reappears at Bhavānīpura. At Bālchāpur it again disappears but appears again at Baṛā Kheṛā; at Urnai near Peheoā (ancient Pṛthūdaka) it is joined by the Mārkaṇḍā and the united stream bearing still the name of Sarasvatī and ultimately joins the Ghaggar or Gharghar which was evidently the lower part of Saraswatī".

(d). Dṛṣadvatī is a name given to the river which flows into the Sarasvatī after running parallel to it for sometime [*Vedic Index*, I, p. 374]. It was regarded to have been a very sacred river forming one extremity of the boundary of Kurukṣetra along with the Sarasvatī. The confluence (*saṅgama*) of Dṛṣadvatī and Kauśikī rivers was considered to be a very sacred spot indeed [*VP*, 81., 80, Suk. ed., as already cited above].

The Dṛṣadvatī has been identified by Dr. B. C. Law (*Geographical Essyas*, p. 91) with "modern Chitang[47] (or Chitrang or Chautang) which runs parallel to Sarasvatī". Dr. Law also adds that "Elphinstone and Todd sought to identify it with Ghaggar flowing through Ambālā and Sindh but now lost in the desert sands of Rājaputānā [*JASB*, VI, p. 181] while Cunningham[48] (*CASR*, XIV, p. 88) found in it the river Rakṣī that flows to the southeast of Thāneśvara. According to the *Vāmana Purāṇa* (XXXIV), a branch of this river was Kauśikī[49]". Cunningham (*CASR.*, XIV, p. 88) even suggests that probably "Vaitaraṇī may be only another name for Dṛṣadvatī or Rākṣī, as it was the name of the mother of Rākṣasa".

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[47] Cunningham (*CASR.*, XIV, p. 89) states that the ancient names of several important rivers as Mārkaṇḍā, Nakaṭī, Chitang or Chatang etc., remain quite unknown so far.

[48] He also states here that Kauśiki-junction still exists near the village called Balu and the Rākhi (Rākṣī) river flows 17 miles to the south of Thānesar.

[49] Cf. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 95, f.n. 9 quoting the river Kauśikī as a tributary of the Sarasvatī.

A three year *Satra* (sacrifice) was performed at Kurukṣetra, on the very bank of the Dṛṣadvatī when the Paurava king named Adhisīma Kṛṣṇa, the Bārhadratha ruler Senajit and the Aikṣavāka ruler Divākara were in power[50].

According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[51] (LIX, 127-8) the original name of this river (Dṛṣadvatī) was "*Ratnāvalī*" but it came to be called the Dṛṣadvatī in the Kali age. The town called Vāyupura, was situated on its bank:—धर्मशालापि बहुला वायुस्थाने महापुरे। रत्नावली स्वर्गमयी गङ्गा चामृतवाहिनी। कलौ दृषद्वती नाम महापातक नाशिनी [*Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ānandāśrama Granthamālā, p. 205].

(e). The *Ādi Parva* (Suk. ed., chap. 3, verses 144 ff.) refers to Kurukṣetra as having been situated on the bank of the river Ikṣumatī[52]. Takṣaka (the great Serpent King) and Aśvasena used to line here in Kurukṣetra along the river Ikṣumatī[53]:—

तक्षकाश्वसेनश्च नित्यं सहचरावुभौ ॥१४०
कुरुक्षेत्रं चे वसतां नदीमिक्षुमतीमनु ।
जघन्यजस्तत्तस्य श्रुतसेनेति यः सुतः ॥१४१

(f). It was on the bank of the Aṃśumatī river that Indra is said to have slain the demon called Kṛṣṇāsura [*Ṛg Veda*, VIII. 96. 13; *Atharva Veda*, I. 4. 1]. According to the author of *The Hindi Viśvakośa* (*op. cit.*, s.v. Kurukṣetra), "this river can well be identified with Aṃśumatī of the *Kurupradīpa* and Ambumatī of the *Vana Parva* (Chap. 81). It has also been stated in the *Vana Parva* that Sutīrthaka *tīrtha* was situated on the bank of the river Ambumatī.

VI. *Forests in the Kurukṣetra region*

The *Vāmana Purāṇa* (*op. cit.*, chap. XXXIV) furnishes the following names of the forests (*vana*)[54] in the Kurukṣetra region:—

शृणु सप्तवनानि इह कुरुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यतः ।
येषां नामानि पुण्यानि सर्वपाप हराणि च ॥३
काम्यकं च वनं तदा अदिति वनं महत् ।
व्यासस्य च वनं पुण्यं फलकीवनमेव च ॥४
तथा सूर्यवनं स्थानं तथा मधुवनं महत् ।
पुण्य शीतवनं नाम सर्वं कल्पनाशनम् ॥५

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[50] S. N. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, 1927, Calcutta, p. 76.

[51] Cf. Also Dr. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 275.

[52] Also read as Ikṣuvatī, Īkṣumatī, Ikṣunadī etc.

[53] *Ādi Parva*, 1906, Bombay, chap. 3, 140-1; cf. Suk. ed., verses 144-6.

[54] Cf. *CASR.*, XIV, p. 91 also.

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(A) The Kāmyaka forest was situated on the bank of the river Sarasvatī [*AP.*, Suk. ed., chap. 6, verses 3-5] and was even visited by the Pāṇḍavas and Vidura:—

ततः सरस्वतीकूले[55] समेषु मरुधन्वसु ।
काम्यकं नाम ददृशुर्वनं मुनिजनप्रियम् ॥३
………काम्यकं वनमृद्धिमत् ॥५

Even *Dharmarāja* Yudhiṣṭhira had seen that forest [*A.P.*, 11. 11].

(B) The *Vanaparva*[56] presents a graphic view of the Dvaita-forest and enumerates every possible detail of the surroundings there:—

पुण्यं द्वैतवनं रम्यं विविशुर्भरतर्षभाः ॥१६
तच्छालतालाम्रमधूकनीप कदम्ब सजार्जुनकर्णिकारैः ।
तपात्यये पुण्यधरैरुपेतं महावनं राष्ट्रपतिर्ददर्श ॥१७
महाद्रुमाणां शिखरेषु तस्थुर्मनोरमां वाचमुदीरयन्तः ।
मयूरदात्यूह चकोरसंघास्तस्मिन्वनेकाननकोकिलाश्च ॥१८
करेणुयूथैः सह यूथपानां मदोत्कटानामचलप्रभाणाम् ।
महान्तियूथानि महाद्विपानां तस्मिन् वने राष्ट्रपतिर्ददर्श ॥१९
मनोरमां भोग[57]वतीमुपेत्य धृतात्मनां चीरजटाधराणाम् ।
तस्मिन् वने धर्मभृतां निवासे ददर्श सिद्धर्षिगणाननेकान् ॥२०

The *Dvaita* forest was thus full of the *Śāla* trees [*VP.*, Suk. ed., III 26. 1—तत्काननम्…सरस्वतीशालवनेषु तेषु]. It was here that the Pāṇḍavas had offered oblations to their ancestors (*ibid.*, 26. 2-3). The place became prosperous and continued to remain an abode of the sages and the Brāhmaṇas till the stay of the Pāṇḍavas there (*ibid.*, Chap. 27). It was from this forest that the Pāṇḍavas had left for the Kāmyaka *vana* (*ibid.*, 26. 28). There is of course no doubt that the Dvaita *vana* was very near to the river Sarasvatī (*ibid.*, 174. 21 सरस्वतीमुपेत्य निवासकामाः सरस्ततो द्वैतवनं प्रतीयुः). The *Vāmana Purāṇa* (*op. cit.*, XXII. 12-14) refers to the visit (of Urvaśī) to Dvaita-*vana*.

(B) The Phalakī *vana* was also very sacred (*AP.*, 81. 72-74):—

यत्र देवाः सदा फलकीवनमाश्रिताः ।
तपश्चरन्ति विपुलं बहुवर्षकम् ॥७२

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[55] Cf. सरस्वती तीरे काम्यकं नाम काननम् in *AP.*, 37. 37.

[56] Suk. ed., chap. 25. verses 13-19.

[57] M. N. Dutt tries to identify Bhogavati with the river Sarasvatī. This fact has already been cited above.

In the words of Alexander Cunningham [*CASR.*, XIV, p. 91], "in the map it will be seen that the names of the Sūrya *vana* and Solan *vana* belong to the two outside forests and that a smaller *cakra* containing 7 forests might be made by leaving them altogether. This smaller space well would include all the famous places of pilgrimage as well as the great battlefield itself. On the west it would extend to farthest point of Pṛthūdaka[58] and on the south to Dāchor. And authority is not wanting for this smaller extent of the holy region as *kos* or *krośa* of the whole of N. W. India, from Delhi to Indus, is as nearly as possible 1⅓ miles or 7040 feet, agreeing with the smaller valuation of 4000 cubits……5 *Yojanas*, forming the side of the holy region, would thus be reduced to 25 miles and the whole circuit to about 100 miles. This limitation would exclude both Kaithal and Jīnd, both of which I strongly suspect to have been added to *cakra* in recent times to gratify the Sikh Rājās of those places. There is a Rāmahrada near Rākṣī which is one of the 4 corners named in the *Māhabhārata*, 17 miles to the south of Thānesar, from which point the boundary will incline to southwest to Dāchor along the old bed of the Rākṣī."

VII. *Āśramas in and near the Kurukṣetra region*

The region of Kurukṣetra is also to be noted for the existence of various *āśramas* (hermitages) both inside and outside the *cakra* of Kurukṣetra.

(i) Reference to the Kāmyaka *vana*[59] has already been made above. Being situated on the very banks of the sacred river Sarasvatī, it was immensely dear to the sages and the *munis* [*AP.*, Suk. ed., chap. 6.3]: —

ततः सरस्वती कूले समेषु मरुधन्वसु ।
काम्यकं नाम ददृशुर्वनं मुनिजनप्रियम् ॥३

In fact it was abounding in everything that was good and sacred (*ibid.*, chap. 6. verse 5).

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[58] Modern Peheoā in the Kaithal *tahasīl* of the Karnāl district. It is about 16 miles west of Thānesar. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XX, p. 100.

[59] Cf. *VP.*, 183; R. K. Mookerjee, *Ancient Indian Education*, 1947 London, p. 335.

(ii) The Dvaita *vana* "was covered, at the end of the summer with *śālas*, palms, *kadambas*, *sarjas*, *arjunas*, *karṇikāras* clothed with flowers. The peacocks, *datyūhas*, *cakoras*, *varbiṇas*, *kokilas* sat on the top of the highest trees and emitted their sweet notes. In that forest, the king also saw the leaders of the elephant herds, gigantic like hills with temporal juice trickling down in the season of rut and accompanied by the herds of she-elephants. And approaching the picturesque Bhogavatī, he saw many ascetics of accomplished piety in that forest in the hermitages of pious and purified souls and wearing bark and matted locks." Such is the vivid description[60] of the environments in which the Hindu sages use to pass their time in severe austerities and penance.

(iii) The *Āraṇyaka Parva* (Suk. ed., chap. 98 12-18) furnishes equally with an interesting account of the Dadhīci's *āśrama*:—

देवाः नारायण पुरस्कृत्य दधीचस्याश्रमम् ययुः ॥१२
सरस्वत्याः परे पारे नानाद्रुमलतावृतम् ।
षट्पादोद्गीतनिनदैर्विधुष्टं सामगैरिव ।
पुंसकोकिलरवोन्मिश्रं जीवं जीवकनादितम् ॥१३
महिषश्च वराहैश्च सृमरैश्चमरैरपि ।
तत्र तत्रानुचरितं शार्दूलभयवर्जितैः ॥१४
करेणुभिर्वारणैश्च प्रभिन्नकरटामुखैः ।
सरोवगाढैः क्रीडद्भिः समन्तादनुनादितम् ॥१५
सिंहव्याघ्रैर्महानादान्नदद्भिरनुनादितम् ।
अपरश्चापि संलीनैर्गुहाकन्दरवासिभिः ॥१६
तेषु तेष्ववकाशेषु शोभितं सुमनोरमम् ।
त्रिविष्टपसमप्रख्यं दधीचात्रसमागमनम् ॥१७
तत्रापश्यन्दधीचं ते दिवाकरसमद्युतिम् ।
जाज्वल्यमानं वपुषा यथा रम्या लक्ष्म्या पितामहम् ॥१८

(iv) An extensive but important hermitage near Kurukṣetra has been alluded to in the *Śalya Parva*. It had the proud privilege of producing "two notable women hermits. There, leading from youth the vow of *brahmacarya*, a Brāhmin maiden was crowned with ascetic success and ultimately acquiring *Yogic* powers, became a *tapassidhā*; while another lady, daughter of a *kṣatriya*, a child not of poverty but of affluence, the daughter of a king (Śāṇḍilya by name), came to live there the life of celibacy and attained spiritual pre-eminence [R. K. Mookerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 335]. According to the narrative as given in the *Śalya Parva* [54. 1-12, edited by M. N. Dutt, translation, 1901], that hermitage was "overgrown with *madhuka* and mango trees and abounded with *plakṣas* and *nyagrodhas*[61]. It contained many *vilvas* and many excellent jack and *arjuna* trees. Here god Viṣṇu formerly practised austere penances and duly celebrated all the eternal sacrifices."

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[60] The *VP.*, as translated by M. N. Dutt, 1896, p. 36, verses 17-20, chap. 25. The Skt. text has already been cited above.

VIII. *Cults associated with Kurukṣetra region*

(A). *Yakṣas*: —

Reference to the *dvārapāla yakṣas* (i.e. Tarantuka, Arantuka and Macakruka) and the *Yakṣī* (i.e. Paiśācī) has already been made above. It is equally interesting to note the divine protectors of the Kuru-jāṅgala area as given in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* [XXII. 40-2] :—

तस्य क्षेत्रस्य रक्षार्थं ददौ स पुरुषोत्तमः ।
यक्षं च चन्द्रनामानं वासुकिं चापि पन्नगम् ।।४०
विद्याधरं शङ्कुकर्णं सुकेशं राक्षसेश्वरम् ।
अजावनं च नृपातिमदादेवं च पावकम् ।।४१
एतानि सर्वतोऽभ्येत्यरक्षंति कुरुजाङ्गलम् ।
अमीषा वलिनोऽन्ये च भृत्याश्चैवानुयायिनः ।।४२

(B) *Goddesses*: —

There used to exist a *devī-pīṭha*[62] at Kurukṣetra पुण्येतीर्थे कुरुक्षेत्रे देवीपीठचतुष्टये]. The *Matsya Purāṇa* too throws some light on this problem when it refers to the abode of Bhavānī at Sthāneśvara (स्थानेश्वरे तु भवानी—chap. XII, verse 31) and of Devamātā on the Sarasvatī river (देवमाता सरस्वत्यां—chap. XII. verse 44).

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[61] The Vedic literature too refers to the growth of the *nyagrodha* trees in Kurukṣetra [cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 30, Bombay ed., Śaka year 1812].

[62] D. C. Sircar's paper in *JASB.*, Calcutta, 1948, XIV, p. 14 citing the text from Yamala—as quoted in the *Tantrasāra*, p. 40.

(C) *Nāgas* :—

Takṣaka, the great *Nāga* king (*nāgarāja*) used to live in the Khāṇḍava *vana* in the beginning but when it was put to fire, he shifted to Kurukṣetra[63] and made his abode there :—

यस्य वासः कुरुक्षेत्रे खाण्डवे चाभवत्पुरा ॥१३९
तं नागराजमस्तौषं कुण्डलार्थाय तक्षकम् ।
तक्षकस्य चाश्वसेनश्च नित्यं सहचरावुभौ ॥१४०
कुरुक्षेत्रं च वसतां नदीमिक्षुमतीमनु ॥१४१

[*Ādi Parva*, Suk. ed., chap. 3, 139-41]

तक्षकस्तु न तत्रासीत् नागराजो महाबलः ।
दह्यमाने वने तस्मिन् कुरुक्षेत्रं गतो हि सः ॥

[*ibid.*, Bombay ed. chap. 253, p. 422]

............तक्षको भुजगोत्तम ॥१६
दाहकाले खाण्डवस्य कुरुक्षेत्रं गतो ह्यसौ ।
न च शक्यो युधा जेतुं कथंचिदपि वासव ॥१७

[*ibid.*, chap. 254, p. 424].

This led Dr. J. Ph. Vogel[64] to conjecture that the "original home of the cult of Takṣaka was Indraprastha from where it was carried northward to Kurukṣetra." Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 149) also remarks that "the connection with the *nāgas* as treasure-hiders appears in the description of the gatekeepers of the Nāga-Tīrtha at Kurukṣetra."

It is really interesting to notice some ancient *tīrthas* (in the region of Kurukṣetra) being even named after the *nāga* or *sarpa* cult. Not only that, some of the old names have even survived to this day :—

Nāgdu, 11 miles s. s. w. of Thānesar; cf. ancient *nāga*-tīrtha (*CASR.*, XIV, pp. 97 ff.). The *VP.* refers to Nāgodbheda (*VP.*, 82. 113), Nāga *tīrtha* [*VP.*, 83. 45], Sarpadarvī *tīrtha* etc. The last one has been considered to be a very sacred spot, the most excellent of all the *nāga tīrthas* :—

सर्पदर्वी नागानां तीर्थमुत्तमम् ।
अग्निष्टोममवाप्नोति नागलोकं च विंदति ॥

[*VP.*, Suk. ed., 81, 12].

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[63] Cf. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, 1915, Strassburg, p. 29.

[64] *Indian Serpent Lore*, 1926, London, p. 205.

The Sarpadarvī *tīrtha* may be identified with modern Sapīdāna[65], very near to ancient Pṛthūdaka. Modern Saphīdān (सफ़ीदां or सफ़ीदों), identified Sarpadarpa and Nāgadamana *tīrtha*, was famous for 3 ancient *tīrthas* and temples (such as Nāgeśvara Mahādeva, Nāgadamanī Devī and Nāga-*kṣetra*) associated with Parīkṣita and his biting by Takṣaka *nāga*. Janamejaya is said to have established the above three *mūrtis* to avenge the Takṣaka *nāga* [*Indian Antiquary*, XXIII, pp. 298-300].

IX. *Persons associated with Kurukṣetra*

The old Vedic myths try to associate some important persons and personalities with the region of Kurukṣetra. It was here that:—(i) Pururavas found his beloved Urvaśī [*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 5. 1. 4]; (ii) Indra killed the Vṛtras [*Ṛg Veda*, I. 84. 13]. The later Sanskrit literature too bears testimony to the close association of numerous persons, sages, kings, nāgas, *Yakṣas*...etc., with this area. Even foreign travellers, Chinese and Muslim, had the proud privilege of paying their visit to the place.

Following are some of the names[66] of the persons and personalities associated with Kurukṣetra in some way or the other:—

(1) Kuru—the sage-king, who gave the name to the place.

(2) Janamejaya performed a sacrifice here for a considerable period [*Ādi Parva*, 1906, Bombay ed., chap. 3, verse:—जनमेजयः परीक्षितः सहभ्रातृभिः कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्रमुपासते].

(3) Combat between the Kuru chief and the *Gandharvarāja* took place at Kurukṣetra [*ibid*., 109. 11-2], on the banks of the river Hiraṇyavatī [नद्यास्तीरे हिरण्यवत्याः].

(4) The two demons, named Sunda and Upasunda, after having subjugated every nook and corner of the heaven, began to live in Kurukṣetra [*ibid*., 230. 27—कुरुक्षेत्रे निवेशमभिचक्रतुः].

(5) Bhārgava fought here at Kurukṣetra [*Śānti Parva*, P. C. Roy ed., 27. 7].

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[65] *Hindī Viśva Kośa* (s.v. Kurukṣetra) vol. V, 1922, Calcutta. There is a place now called Saphīdān in this area. Cf. *CASR.*, XIV, pp. 97 ff.

[66] Association of the *nāgas*, goddesses, *yakṣas* etc., has already been shown above,

(6) It was the battle scene of the Great War (Mahābhārata War).

(7) The sages, the gods, the Brāhmins, the *gandharvas*, the *Yakṣas* etc., visited the place [*VP.*, Roy ed., 83. 5-8 and 108-9; *Vām.*, 57·51-3; *ibid.*, 89. 1-3].

(8) King Māndhātā performed the sacrifice here [*VP.*, Sāt. ed. chap. 126, Suk. ed., 126. 42] : —

तस्यैतद्देवयजनं स्थानमादित्यवर्चसः ।
तस्यपुण्यतमे देशे कुरुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यतः ॥

(9) King Mudgala used to live at Kurukṣetra : —

शिलोच्छवृत्ति-धर्मात्मा मुद्गलः संयतेन्द्रियः ।
आसीद्राजन् कुरुक्षेत्रे सत्यवागनसूयकः ॥

[*VP.*, Sātav. ed., 260.3]

(10) Bhīṣma—Pitāmaha continued to lie on the bed[67] of arrows here (*Śānti Parva*, chap. 53).

(11) Yudhiṣṭhira had visited the holy place कुरुक्षेत्रमवतरत्—*Āśramavāsa Parva*, Sātav. ed., 19. 71; *ibid.*, 23. 16). It was from here that he left for Gaṅgādvāra (*ibid.*, 31,37).

(12) It was the battle scene of the *Devāsurasaṅgrāma*, as a result of which all the gods and demons came to an end here [*ibid.*, 31.7] : —

देवाश्च दानवाश्चैव तथा देवर्षतोऽमलाः ।
त एते निधनं प्राप्ताः कुरुक्षेत्रे रणजिये ॥

(13) King Sudarśana, a descendant of Manu, lived here along with his family [*Anuśāsana Parva*, Sātav. ed. 2. 40] : —

स गृहस्थाश्रमरतः तथा सुदर्शन ।
कुरुक्षेत्रेऽवसद्राजन्नोघवत्या समन्वितः ॥

(14) Balarāma gave away many gifts here [*SP.*, Sātav. ed., Chap. 55].

(15) Duryodhana and Bhīmasena fought at Kurukṣetra [*ibid.*, Chap. 55].

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[67] The ancient (mediaeval) temple at Kirāḍu (Jodhpur Division) presents an interesting and rare carving of Bhiṣma lying on the Bed of Arrows; cf. my paper in the *Śodhapatrikā*, Udaipur, March, 1954, p. 5; Stella Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, p. 407, plate LXXX.

(16) We are informed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[68] of Somadeva that king Malayaprabha was the ruler of Kurukṣetra.

(17) Vairocana Bali visited this place [*Vām.*, 89. 1].

(18) The hill chiefs and other rulers from various parts of India visited the place [*Śrīmad-Bhāgawat Purana*, 82. 12-13, ed., by Govindadass, Mathurā, II, pp. 450 ff.][69].

(19) In the region of Sassala (1112-20 A.D.) three hill chiefs as well as the *Yuvarājas* of the Chiefs of Trigarta, Vallāpura; in all 5 Chiefs, met at one place in the beginning and visited Kurukṣetra[70]:—

> वल्ह आनन्दराजश्च पंच संघटिताः क्वचित् ।
> प्रस्थानार्थं कृतपणाः कुरुक्षेत्रमुपागताः ॥ viii. 540
> अर्कोपरागे प्राप्तः स कुरुक्षेत्रमवाप तम्[71] । viii. 2220

(20) It was an abode of various gods [*Vām.*, XXXIII. 12].

X. *Kurukṣetra, as a place of Sanctity and Pilgrimage*

Kurukṣetra, situated between the rivers Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī, was regarded as a holy place as early as the time of the Vedic literature. It was here that the ancient Hindu sages had the proud privilege of kindling the sacred fire. This sanctity of Kurukṣetra was preserved for a considerable period. The later Sanskrit literature bears testimony to this fact i.e.—

(1) It was the *Uttaravedī* [Northern Altar] of Prajāpati or Pitāmaha or Brahmā; a *devanirmita deśa*; *Brahmāvarta*, *Brahmarṣi-deśa* etc., as already discussed above. According to the *Jābāli Upaniṣad*[72], it was also called as *avimukta-kṣetra*, *brahma-sadana*, and *deva-yajña bhūmi*.

[68] N. M. Penzer ed., VI, London, 1926, pp. 84 ff.

[69] Cf. various *Purāṇas* referring to the visit of the chiefs and the rulers at the time of eclipses.

[70] Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, II, edited by A. Stein, VIII. 540 and 2220.

[71] *The Rājataraṅgiṇi*, edited by Durga Prasad, Bombay, 1894, p. 191.

[72] F. Otto Schrader, *The Minor Upaniṣads*, 1912, Madras, pp. 59-60. For Vedic literature, consult the following works such as *Ṛg Veda*, III 23. 4; *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, II. 9, 4; *Taittiriya Araṇyaka*, V. 1. 1; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 1. 5. 13; *ibid.*, 1. 1. 2; *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*, II. 1. 4; *ibid.*, IV. 5. 9.; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 30; *Jaiminīya Br.* II. 207 Caland ed., 1919, p. 303; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra*, XV. 16. 11; *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, XXIV.

(2) The very sight of Kurukṣetra and the chanting of its name has got a great sanctifying effect :—

ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र कुरुक्षेत्रमभीप्सितम् ।
पापेभ्यो यत्र मुच्यते दर्शनात् सर्वजन्तवः ॥१
“कुरुक्षेत्रं गमिष्यामि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहं” ।
य एवं सततं ब्रूयात् सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥२
पांसवोऽपि कुरुक्षेत्रे वायुना समुदीरिताः ।
अपि दुष्कृतकर्माणं नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥३

[*VP*., Suk. ed., chap. 81]

The verses also occur in chap. 81, verses 173-81 of the same *Parva*. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* [XXXIII 7-10] too corroborates the truth of this statement. The *Agni Purāṇa*[73] (109. 14) reproduces a verse from the *VP*. (81. 2. Suk. ed.). It is equally interesting to note the following passage from the *VP* (*ibid*., verse):—

मनाप्यभिकामस्य कुरुक्षेत्रे युधिष्ठिर ।
पापानि विप्रनश्यन्ति ब्रह्मलोकञ्च गच्छति ॥

(3) They who die at Kurukṣetra reach the Heaven:—

इह ये पुरुषाः क्षेत्रे मरिष्यन्ति शतक्रतो ।
ते गमिष्यन्ति सुकृतांल्लोकान् पापवर्जितान् ॥६

[*SP*., Sātav. ed., 53. 6]

कुरुक्षेत्रं परं पुण्यं पावनं स्वर्गमेव च ।
देवतैः ऋषिभिः जुष्टं ब्राह्मणैश्च महात्मभिः ॥७
तत्र वै योत्स्यमाना ये देहं त्यक्ष्यन्ति मानवाः ।
तेषां स्वर्गे ध्रुवोवासः शक्रेण सह मारिष ॥८ [*ibid*., 55. 7-8]
द्वारवत्यां कुरुक्षेत्रे योगाभ्यासेन वा मृताः ।[74]
कुरुक्षेत्रमृतानां च पतनं नैव विद्यते । [*Vām*., XXXIII. 6]

(4) Kurukṣetra is the most important of all the *tīrthas* on the earth:—

पृथिव्यां नैमिषं तीर्थमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम् ।
त्रयाणामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते ॥२०३

[*VP*., 83., Roy ed.].

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6. 32: *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra*, X. 19. 1. and 4; *Jābāli Upaniṣad*; *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*., XXV. 13. 3. etc. Even the gods had the occasion of performing the *Yajñas* here.

[73] R. L. Mitra's ed., Calcutta, I, 1873, p. 73.

[74] *Padma Purāṇa* (*Pātāla Khaṇḍa*), chap. 93, Ānandāśrama Series, 1894, p. 648.

द्वापरे कुरुक्षेत्रं गङ्गाकलियुगे स्मृता ।

[*ibid.*, 82. 91, Roy ed.]

पुण्यमाहु कुरुक्षेत्रं [*Śanti Parva*, Roy ed. 152. 9-10].

पुण्यतीर्थं सुसलिलं कुरुक्षेत्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ।

[*Anuśāsana Parva*, Sāt. ed., 165 Chap., p. 1050].

पृथिव्यां नैमिषं पुण्यमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम् ।
त्रयाणामपि लोकानाम् कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते ॥

[*Matsya*[75] *Purāṇa*, 109. 3]

(5) Visit of Kurukṣetra proves very fruitful indeed and one acquires the merit of performing various Vedic sacrifices:—

गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरूद्वह ।
फलं प्राप्नोति च तदा राजसूयाश्वमेधयोः ॥

[*VP.*, Suk. ed., 81. 8].

Similar fruits are obtained by bathing and visiting different *tīrthas* (of Kurukṣetra region) such as:—Sarpadarvī, Varāha, Soma, Arantuka, Āpagā, Phalakī-*vana* etc., as stated in the *VP.*, chap. 81. Suk. ed. Sometimes *go-sahasra-phala* could also be accrued.

(6) Kurukṣetra is a befitting place for offering oblations to the ancestors:—

गया प्रयागे गङ्गा च कुरुक्षेत्रं च नर्मदा ॥६३
श्रीपर्वतः प्रभासश्च शालग्रामो वाराणसी ।
गोदावरी तेषु श्राद्धं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमः ॥६४

[*Agni Purāṇa*, 117. 63-4]

It was here that Bhārgava Rāma, after having bathed at Samanta-pañcaka, had propitiated his ancestors.

(7) Bath at Kurukṣetra has got a sanctifying effect:—

कुरुक्षेत्रे समा गङ्गा यत्र तत्रावगाहिता ॥८९
पुष्करे तु कुरुक्षेत्रे गङ्गायां मगधेषु च ।
स्नात्वा तारयते जन्तुः सप्तसप्तावरांस्तथा ॥९३

[*Vām.*, Sāt. ed., 85 Chap.]

कुरुक्षेत्रं गङ्गा प्रभासं पुष्कराणि च ॥४८
एतानि मनसा ध्यात्वा अवगाहेत्ततो जलम् ।
तथा मुच्यति पापेन राहुणा चन्द्रमा यथा ॥४९

[*Anuśāsana Parva*, Sāt. ed., Chap. 125]

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[75] Calcutta ed., Śaka year 1812, p. 143.

यत्र तत्र कुरुक्षेत्रं नैमिषं पुष्कराणि च ॥१३
एतानि सर्वतीर्थानि कृत्वा पापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥१४
[*Vyāsa*[76] *Smṛti*, IV. 13-14]

स्नात्वाभिगम्य तत्रैव महापातकनाशनम् ।
कुरुक्षेत्रस्य तद्द्वारं विश्रुतं पुण्यवर्धनम् ॥
[*Vām.*, XXXIV. 40]

सरस्वत्यां सन्निहित्यां स्नानकृद् ब्रह्मलोकभाक् ॥१५
पांशवोऽपि कुरुक्षेत्रे नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ।.१६
[*Agni Purāṇa*, chap. 109].

(८) A bath in the river Sarasvatī makes a man free from all his sins. [*AP.*, Roy ed., 129.20]:—

सरस्वतीमिमां पुण्यां पश्यैकशरणावृताम् ।
यत्र स्नात्वा नर श्रेष्ठ धूतपाप्मा भविष्यति ॥

The confluence of Aruṇā and Sarasvatī rivers too was quite famous (*ibid.*, Suk. ed., 81 131-2):—तीर्थं देव्या यथाक्रमम् सरस्वत्यारुणायाश्च सङ्गमं लोकविश्रुतम् ।

(9) Kurukṣetra is a sacred place where sacrifices and penances are to be performed:—

तस्यैतद्देवयजनं स्थानमादित्यवर्चसः ।
तस्यपुण्यतमे देशे कुरुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यतः ॥
[*VP.*, Suk. ed., 126. 42]

It was a *dharma-kṣetra* [land of piety]:—क्षेत्रं धर्मस्य कृत्स्नस्य कुरुक्षेत्रम् [*Śānti Parva*, Roy ed., 53. 23; cf. धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे in the opening verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*]. It was a land of penance [कुरुक्षेत्रे तपःक्षेत्रे in the *Bhīṣmaparva*, Sāt. ed., 1. 2.]. A three-year *satra* was performed at Kurukṣetra, on the banks of the river called Dṛṣadvatī [S. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, 1927, Calcutta, p. 76]. King Kuru too performed the *yajña* here. Some other references to this land of sacrifices and piety too are very interesting:—

प्रजापतेरुत्तरवेदिरुच्यते सनातनं राम समन्तपञ्चकम् ।
समीजिरे यत्रपुरा दिवौकसो वरेण सत्रेण महावरप्रदः ॥
[*SP.*, Sāt. ed., 53. 1].

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[76] *Smṛtīnām Samuccayaḥ*, Ānandāśrama Series, 1929, p. 367. This work (p. 387) also refers to the *Śaṅkha Smṛti* (127 ff.] according to which Kurukṣetra was a place fit for giving charity. Cf. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1890, edited by Nilamaṇi Mookerjee, p. 719.

समन्तपञ्चकं नाम धर्मस्थानमुत्तमम् [*Vām.*, XXII, 15].
कुरुक्षेत्रं पुण्य देशः [*ibid.*, chap. 99].
धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्रं तु ईजिरे ।
नद्यास्तीरे दृषद्वत्याः पुण्यायाः शुचिरोधसः ॥
[*Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ānandāśrama Series, I. 14].

धर्मतीर्थं सुवर्णाख्यं गङ्गाद्वारमनुत्तमम् ।
[*Agni Purāṇa* 109. 16].

XI. *Kurukṣetra and Eclipses of the Sun and Moon*

Pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra, specially on the occasion of the Solar and Lunar eclipses was the harbinger of bliss and religious merit. Quite a large number of people, including the rulers and the sages, used to flock to the place to have a dip into the holy water of the sacred pools and lakes at Kurukṣetra. The place thus happened to attract quite a large number of visitors even in those good old days. The Sanskrit texts and the accounts of travellers visiting India bear testimony to the importance of pilgrimage to this place, specially during the lunar and solar eclipses. Some of the references are worth noticing here:—

(1) कुरुक्षेत्रे महापुण्यं राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे [*Matsya Purāṇa*, 199. 12, Calcutta ed., p. 318].

(2) According to the *Srīmad Bhāgavat Purāṇa* (edited by Govindadāss, II, Chap. 82, p. 450 ff.), knowing that the Solar eclipse was at hand (सूर्योपरागः समहानासीत् कल्पक्षये यथा), people from all over the country assembled there before the scheduled time of the eclipse (verses 1, 2). They were extremely anxious to attain *puṇya* and so they observed fast, had their bath at Kurukṣetra and distributed garlands and cows among the Brāhmaṇas:—

तत्र स्नात्वा महाभागा उपोष्य सुसमाहिताः ।
ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददुर्धेनूर्वासः स्रग्रुक्ममालिनी ॥ [*ibid.*, verse 9].

It is further stated (*ibid.*, verses 12-13) that the great assembly (at Kurukṣetra) on this occasion included even the rulers of various states and countries i.e. from Matsya, Uśīnara, Kośala, Vidarbha, Kuru, Sṛñjaya, Kambuja, Kekaya, Madra, Kunti, Ānarta, Kerala etc. Besides this, they had their relations too with them.

(3) *The Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa [*op. cit.*, VIII, 2220] too informs us that the place was visited by the prince on the occasion of Solar eclipse (अर्कोंपरागे प्राप्तः स कुरुक्षेत्रमवाप तम् etc.). A. Stein (*op. cit.*, II, p. 122) even states that "the eclipse of the sun in India took place on July 23 of 1134 A.D. It was visible at Thāneśvara." The solar eclipse occurred on the occasion of) Koṭheśvara's meeting with Mallārjuna at Kurukṣetra [A. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 171 f. n.).

(4) It is said that there was a solar eclipse on the eve of the battle of Kurukṣetra [S. N. Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 268].

(5) The *Vṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (V. 78; XI. 57) too refers to the eclipse and its effects at Kurukṣetra: —

(a) काश्मीरान् सपुलिन्द चीन-यवनान् हन्यात् कुरुक्षेत्रजान् ।
गन्धारानपि मध्यदेशसहितान् दृष्टोग्रहः श्रावणे ;
काम्बोजैकशफांश्च शारदमपि त्यक्त्वा यथोक्तानिमानन्यत्र ।
प्रचुरान्नहृष्टमनुजैर्धात्रीं करोत्यावृताम् ॥ v ७८

i.e. "If an eclipse should occur in the Lunar month of Śrāvaṇa, the people of Kaśmīra, Pulindas; Chinese, Yavanas, those born in Kurukṣetra and Gandhāra, those living in the central tract, Kambojas and all whole-hoofed animals and also the grains of the autumnal season will suffer damage and perish. With the exception of those stated above, all those living elsewhere shall be happy and live in peace".[77]

(b) चित्रास् कुरुक्षेत्राधिपस्य समादिशेत्तज्ज्ञः ।
काश्मीरकाम्बोजौ नृपती प्रभाञ्जने न स्तः ॥ xi ५७

i.e. "When a malign *Ketu* eclipses or touches the star *citra*, people in the know should declare the exit from the world of the chief of Kurukṣetra. If the star in question be *Svāti*, the two kings of Kaśmīr and Kamboja will cease to exist."[78]

(6) According to the *Vana Parva*, one attains the benefit of an *Aśvamedha yajña* by bathing at Sannihatī *tīrtha*

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[77] Translation of verse V. 78 as furnished by V Subrahmanya Śāstrī, rāhamihira's *Vṛhatsaṃhitā*, I, 1947, Bangalore.

[78] *Ibid.*, translation of verse XI. 57.

modern Sannavaṭa, 9 miles south of Thānesar) on the day of Solar eclipse.

(7) Alberuni too furnishes some information that he gathered (about sun and moon eclipses) on the authority of Varāhamihira. In his own words[79]:— "The *Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira* relates that in Tāneshar, there is a pond which the Hindus visit from afar to bathe in its water. Regarding the cause of this custom, they relate the following:— the waters of all the other holy ponds visit this particular pond at the time of an eclipse. Therefore a man, who washes in it, it is as if he had washed in every single one of all of them. Then Varāhamihira continues that—people say, if it were not the head which causes the eclipse of the sun and the moon, the other ponds would not visit this pond".

(8) The account of Abū Rīhān [Reinaud, *Memoire Sur l'Inde*, p. 287] too "records on the authority of Varāhamihira, that during the eclipses of the moon, the waters of all the other tanks visit the tank of Thānesar so that the bather in the tank, at the moment of the eclipse obtains the additional merit of bathing in all other tanks at the same time"[80]. In Cunningham's opinion, this notice by Varāhamihira, "carries us back at once to about 500 A.D. when the holy tank of Thānesar was in full repute".

(9) The Kulait plate of Somavarman, referring to Sāhilladeva of Mūṣaṇa race, relates that he "vanquished the Kīra troops of the lord of Durgar (Dugara) and their allies the Saumṭika who forced his suzerainty on the lord of Kulūta (Kullū) who was styled *Karivarṣa* because he undertook a pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra on the occasion of a Solar eclipse and made a gift of the elephants to the Sun-god who ensured the continuance of his family etc.[81]"

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[79] *Alberuni's India*, II, 1910, London, p. 145 as edited by E. C. Sachau.

[80] Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, London, pp. 334-5.

[81] D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of N. India in Brāhmī and its Scripts from 200 A. D.*, p. 256.

(10) *The Tabqāti-Akbarī* presents a vivid account of the assemblage of pilgrims on the bank of the holy lake at Kurukṣetra in A.H. 974 (=1567 A.D): —

> "When the emperor arrived at Thānesar, there was an assemblage of *jogīs* and *sannyāsīs* on the banks of a lake called Kurukṣetra. This is a sacred place of the Brāhmaṇas and on the occasion of the eclipses, the people of Hindustan flock thither from all parts to bathe. There was a great assemblage there on this occasion and people were bestowing their gifts of gold, silver, jewels and stuffs upon the Brāhmaṇas. Many of them threw themselves into water and the *jogīs* and *sannyāsīs* were gathering a rich harvest from their charity In consequence of a feud which existed between these two sects, they came to the emperor seeking permission to settle it by fighting. The *sannyāsīs* were between 200 and 300 in number and *jogīs*, who wear only rags, were over 500. When the adversaries stood ready to begin the fray, by emperor's orders, some soldiers smeared their persons with ashes and went to support the *sannyāsīs* who were the weaker party. A fierce fight ensued and many were killed. Emperor greatly enjoyed the sight. At length, the *jogīs* were defeated and the *sannyāsīs* were victors" [H. M. Elliot, *The History of India*, London, vol. V, 1873, p. 318].

This is in nutshell a short account of Kurukṣetra as depicted in the later Sanskrit literature[82].

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[82] The question of various *tirthas* and localities in the region of Kurukṣetra has not been touched here. It will be taken up in a separate article.

The mediaeval lexicographer, Puruṣottama, identifies Vinaśana with Kurukṣetra in his work the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa [*Age of Imperial Unity*, 1951, Bombay, p. 221 fn. 1].

India, China and Sikkim: 1886-1890

The Tibetan question arising out of Britain's desire in 1885 to send a trade mission from India to Lhasa was settled, as between Britain and China, by the Convention of July 1886. But it left behind it a quarrel between Britain and Tibet, involving their rival claims over Sikkim, that was not settled until 1890, with China again playing a leading part.

Various irritations had been working the long-isolated Tibetans up to an outburst of xenophobia, which exploded in 1886-87: at one end of the country in the form of trouble with India, at the other in riots against the Catholic missionaries at Batang. These missionaries blamed the British scheme of 1885 for the excitement; for the Tibetans the scheme was probably only the climax of a series of provocations, including the sending of secret agents to explore their country, and the building of a road through Sikkim about 1877 up to the Jelap pass which led eastwards into the Tibetan valley of Chumbi—a pass which could be referred to by an Englishman as a vital link in "the future highroad between India and China *via* Tibet."[1] Early in 1886, while the British Mission was at Darjeeling ready to start on its way to Lhasa, the fanatical lamas had collected forces at the frontier to keep it out; in the late summer a party of these made an incursion across the border. It was supposed by some observers that they had learned of the cancellation of the Mission and were carried away by a triumphant feeling of having scored a victory over the British.[2] Thirteen miles on the western or Sikkim side of the Jelap pass, at Lingtu, they built a rude mountain fort and a stockade, blocking the British-built highway.[3] They declared that all trade would be stopped, and even held out threats of seizing Darjeeling, only a few score miles away, where "something like a panic" occurred.[4]

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[1] Sir R. Temple, *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikhim, and Nepal* (1887), Vol. II, p. 160: this occurs in a general account of Sikkim at that date by the editor, R. C. Temple (pp. 151-178). Cp. H. H. Risley. Introduction to *Gazetteer of Sikkim* (1894), p. xiii.

[2] This view is taken by Risley, *loc. cit.*, p. vii, and J. C. White, *Sikhim and Bhutan* (1909), p. 18.

[3] Lord. Ronaldshay describes the place as he saw it thirty years later—

Panic died down when the invaders made no further advance, and proved to be merely a "mob of archers, slingers, and matchlockmen collected on a barren, windswept ridge." Either discomfort or orders from the Chinese at Lhasa, it was thought, would soon dislodge them.[5] Time went on, and they were still there; and presently the Indian Government began to feel that it must get rid of them, or see its whole prestige and authority in the Himalayan region undermined: inaction might be regarded in Nepal and Bhutan as well as in Sikkim as "a sign either of weakness or indifference."[6] For at this date the fact that the whole Indian slope of the Himalayas had been a sphere of Chinese influence, exercised directly or through Tibet, was far from having dwindled to a mere historical memory, and the Indian Government had established no firm claim to paramountcy. In the case of Bhutan it was not until 1910 that a treaty "effectively banned Chinese penetration."[7] In 1885 a rebellion took place there, and faced with opponents who were rumoured to look towards India; the Raja appealed for help to Lhasa, where the Chinese Resident announced that a Chinese and a Tibetan Commissioner were

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"On a convenient site provided by a small hump projecting a little below the summit of the peak, stood the remains of the old Tibetan fort of Lingtu, straggling structures of unshaped stone now a few feet only in height." (*Lands of the Thunderbolt*, 1923, p. 113; cf. L. A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas* (1899), p. 266 ff.

[4] Sir F. Younghusband, *India and Tibet* (1910), p. 47.

[5] Risley, *loc. cit.*, p. vii.

[6] Lord Dufferin (Viceroy) to Secretary for India, no. 28 Secret External, 14 Feb., 1888, enclosed with India Office to Foreign Office, 7 Mar., 1888, in F. O. Class 17 (China), Vol. 1108, Public Record Office. Cf. the letter from the Raja of Sikkim to the Government of Bengal, quoted in its no. 582 P., 10 Feb., 1888, to Government of India, Foreign Dept. (enclosed with above): "...the Tibetans sent representations to China that they would one and all refuse to obey the order of China or allow the Sahebs to come, and further despatched a deputation to their frontier to stop them."

[7] Sir C. Bell, *Tibet Past and Present* (1924), pp. 3, 100, 107; cf. his *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (1946), p. 80.

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being sent with an armed force.[8] Nepal was often on bad terms with Tibet—about 1875 her agent was withdrawn for a time from Lhasa[9]—but was still inclined to look towards Peking, and the Gurkhas had not forgotten their resounding defeat by the Chinese in 1792. When the celebrated Minister Jung Bahadur received the G.C.S.I. from his British friends in 1873 he accepted another title at the same time from the Chinese Emperor.[10] In January 1880 a mission from Nepal came to Peking and was lodged in the dirty old building reserved for bearers of tribute from vassal States.[11] In 1883, when a report reached Peking from the Resident at Lhasa about a serious dispute between Tibetan lamas and Nepalese traders there, the British Legation noticed the proof it afforded of Chinese control over Tibet and also of China's connection with Nepal, which India was unwilling to admit.[12] In 1892 two mandarins had to be prevented from taking part in the installation of a new Mir of Hunza, which had only just been subjugated by the British.[13] The Himalayan principality most in need of watching was Sikkim.

This was a small sterile mountainous area with a population of barely five thousand, important as an outpost to protect the rich tea-plantations of Darjeeling and because of the Jelap and other passes that pierced its walls. It had not proved easily amenable to British influence. In 1849 and 1861 coercive measures

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[8] N. O'Conor (acting Chargé d'affaires, Peking) to Lord Salisbury (Foreign Secretary), no. 447, 2 Nov., 1885, F. O. 17.985; cf. R. S. Gundry, *China and her Neighbours* (1893), pp. 350-1.

[9] Sir R. Temple, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 262.

[10] D. Wright, Introduction to the *History of Nepal* (English trans. 1877), p. 73.

[11] Sir T. Wade (Minister at Peking) to Salisbury, no. 10, 16 Jan., 1880, F. O. 17. 829. Another such mission arrived during 1885 (O'Conor to Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary, no. 192, 27 Ap., 1885, F. O. 17. 980).

[12] Hon. T. G. Grosvenor (acting Chargé d'affaires) to Granville, no. 102, 3 July, 1883, F. O. 17. 923; cp Sir H. Parkes (Minister at Peking) to Granville, no. 15, 21 Jan., 1884, F. O. 17.948. On this dispute see Gundry, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-4.

[13] Lord Dunmore, *The Pamirs* (2nd ed., 1894), Vol. II, p. 81; cf. Col. A. Durand, *The Making of a Frontier* (1900), p. 189.

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had been taken, and since the treaty imposed on it in 1861 it had been regarded as a 'mediatised' State of the Indian Empire.[14] "Suzerainty", in the British view, "could not well be more emphatically asserted."[15] Thotab Nangyel, the Raja or Maharaja, in 1886 was an ugly, indolent, amiable young man, entirely governed by his priests and by his second wife, the daughter of an official at Lhasa. His own family was of Tibetan origin, and he spent a great deal of his time in Chumbi; late in 1887 a Bengal civilian, A. W. Paul, was sent to Sikkim to try and persuade him to return.[16] His subsidy was stopped, and, the Viceroy wrote to a correspondent, "if he continues obdurate we shall probably make other arrangements."[17] He prevaricated, and at last it came out that during 1886 he had signed an engagement with the Chinese Resident at Lhasa, putting his country under Chinese and Tibetan tutelage.[18] "For generations past", he wrote rather plaintively to the British, "it has been the custom for the Raja of Sikkim to attend to the orders received from the great officers of China and Tibet......but as I and my people are feeble, we walk warily between your two great powers and heed the orders of both."[19]

Quite enough delay had been allowed, in the opinion of the Indian Government, when towards the end of 1887 it sent a message to the garrison of Lingtu summoning it to evacuate the place by March 15, 1888. In February, no reply having been received, the Viceroy conveyed the same message to the Dalai Lama. "It is doubtless known to Your Holiness," he wrote in civil and conciliatory language, "that some time ago my Government, with the knowledge and concurrence of the Government of Peking, proposed to send a mission to Lhasa with a view to placing on a satisfactory footing the trade relations between India and Tibet. It was naturally assumed that the Tibetan authorities would perceive the mutual advantages to be derived from a trade convention, and that they would receive the mission in the amicable spirit which animated the Government of India in sending it. Unfortunately the object of the mission was misunderstood at Lhasa, and, in deference to the representations made to us on this subject through the Government of Pekin, the project was abandoned. The consideration thus shown to the wishes of the Tibetan Government ought to have removed any suspicions regarding the perfect friendliness of our intentions, and ought to have resulted at least in the re-establishment of the *status quo ante*. I regret to say that this result has not yet become apparent. A small body of Tibetan troops which had been sent forward into Sikkim territory for the purpose of stopping the mission on its way to the Tibetan frontier still remains encamped on the road which, in virtue of our treaty with Sikkim, we have the right to maintain and use..."[20]

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[14] Risley, *loc. cit.*, p. iv.

[15] Gundry, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

[16] White, *op. cit.* pp. 22 ff, 19. Waddell (*op. cit.*, p. 144 ff.) describes similarly, the Raja and his wife, and (pp. 141-4) their miserable "barn-like" palace.

[17] Lord Dufferin to Count Bela Szechenyi, the Hungarian traveller, who had written to him about Tibet and Sikkim; Sir A. Lyall, *The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava* (1905), Vol. II, p. 136.

[18] Risley, *loc. cit.*, p. viii.

[19] See his letter referred to in N. 6 above.

Again there was no reply. At Lhasa there were, it was believed, two factions, the lamas or clerical party standing for defiance while the lay Ministers would have preferred to give way. "It is impossible", commented the Government of Bengal, "with our scanty information about the internal politics of Tibet, to offer any decided forecast of the probable action of the Tibetan authorities."[21] Nor was it easy to guess what line was being taken by the Chinese. If they were trying to get the Tibetans to withdraw from Lingtu, they were not succeeding. What was clear was that forcible action against Lingtu would be embarrassing to China, since it would compel her either to come to the aid of her Tibetan vassals or to confess that she had failed to assert her authority over them. Liu Jui-fen, the Minister who had succeeded the Marquis Tseng at London in 1886 and who also represented China at four other capitals,[22] was at present in Rome; on February 28 his assistant Sir Halliday Macartney called at the Foreign Office to request a further delay before action was taken in Sikkim, and to say that as the Resident at Lhasa had failed to make the Tibetans see reason a new man, Sheng Tai, was being sent from Peking to replace him.[23] At Peking at the same time the Tsungli Yamen or Foreign Ministry was asking Sir John Walsham, the British Minister, to arrange a further delay as a token of British goodwill. Walsham forwarded the request to India, but with the comment: "If two years forbearance is not a proof of good will nothing will be."[24] To London he cabled that the Yamen was obviously in earnest—the dismissal of a Resident was "a very unusual step"; but it was asking for five months, and might not prove able even then to get Lingtu evacuated, and he could not advise compliance.[25] Both the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, and the Secretary for India in Lord Salisbury's Conservative Government, Lord Cross, shared the same view, and the Foreign Office was told that the time-limit of March 15 could not be extended, but that no ulterior aims were being contemplated: "it is not proposed to send troops into Tibet or to force on the Tibetan Government any trade Convention which they do not wish to accept."[26] On the 14th, in reply to a further query from the Foreign Office, the India Office repeated that delay was impossible, and that while it regretted having to take any action that "might tend to disturb the relations existing between China and her feudatory State Tibet", it was compelled to treat the maintenance of British rights in Sikkim as "an object of paramount importance."[27]

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[20] Letter of 7 Feb., 1888; copy with I. O. to F. O., 2 Mar., 1888, F.O. 17. 1108.

[21] To Government of India, no. 582 P, 10 Feb., 1888, F. O. 17. 1108.

[22] See article on Liu Jui-fen by Tu Lien-che in A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Dynasty* (1943). Liu was in Europe until 1889 when he became Governor of Kwangtung.

On March 19, the stockade before Lingtu was attacked and taken, in face of slings and arrows, with no loss to the attackers and only slight loss to the defenders, who fled next day to the frontier. Their fort was dismantled, and the expeditionary force under Colonel Graham settled down to see whether the Tibetans meant to continue the contest. Some reinforcements were sent, and a regular camp was formed at Gnatong eight miles from the Jelap pass. At the crest of the pass fresh levies of Tibetans were soon collecting, and it was learned through the Nepali envoy at Lhasa that the lamas in the Council were bent on war.[28] Tibet did in fact refuse to accept the situation, and on May 22 the force at Gnatong was attacked by a body of men who, repulsed with losses, again fell back on the frontier. Indian policy was still strictly defensive: Graham, who wanted to follow his opponents across the pass into their own territory, was refused permission, and the Tibetan frontier officials were told that there was no desire to prolong hostilities.[29] In the eyes of the Tibetans it was *their* country that had suffered aggression, and reports during the summer "showed that men were being summoned from the most distant parts of the country, even from the districts bordering on Kashmir." At last on September 24, when an army estimated at 11,000 men had advanced four miles from the pass and thrown up a wall, Graham attacked and routed them: they fell back across the pass with a loss of several hundred men. He pursued them as far as Chumbi to complete the rout, and then—his instructions not allowing him to go further—withdrew to Gnatong.[30]

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[23] F. O. to I. O., Immediate and Confidential, 29 Feb., 1888, F. O. 17. 1108.

[24] Walsham to Lord Salisbury (Foreign Secretary), tel. no. 8 cypher, 1 Mar., 1888, F. O. 17, 1108.

[25] Walsham to Salisbury, tel. no. 11 cyph., 15 Mar., 1888, F. O. 17. 1108.

[26] I. O. to F. O., 2 Mar., 1888, F. O. 17. 1108.

[27] I. O. to F. O., 14 Mar., 1888, F. O. 17. 1108.

While the 'Sikkim Expedition', which employed 2,700 troops and cost 278,396 rupees,[31] was in progress, China had been compelled to look helplessly on. Just after the taking of Lingtu the British Government, failing to observe how embarrassing China's position was, wondered whether this might be a good time to begin pressing her again about opening Tibet to trade.[32]. "Decidedly not I should say", was Walsham's comment. He found the Tsungli Yamen, though still friendly, much upset by the Lingtu affair, and feeling that it ought to have been left to China to make her unruly vassal withdraw. In the parallel case of the frontier trouble between Yunnan and newly-annexed Upper Burma, he pointed out, instructions from Peking *had* brought about a better situation, and his conclusion was that "If we continue the policy which has produced this result we may hope for similar success with regard to Tibet. Pressure now would only retard matters and create confusion."[33] Subsequently, when the Indian Government expressed a suspicion that China was secretly egging on the Tibetans, he questioned the Yamen, which "indignantly repudiated the idea"; for himself, he wrote, "I absolutely disbelieve the report...it could not possibly be in China's interest to bring Tibet into serious collision with India."[34] Meanwhile Sheng Tai, the new Chinese representative, arrived at Lhasa, and though it could learn little about his activities the Indian Government thought that he was trying to make the Tibetans come to terms, but that the "monks and war party" would not listen to him.[35]. Messages from him that began to reach India were amiable, and it was even surmised that he might be sorry to see the Sikkim force withdrawn from the frontier, for fear of this encouraging his Tibetan fire-eaters.[36] Before the clash at Gnatong in September the Tsungli Yamen was expressing gratitude for India's "extremely conciliatory policy"; after the clash it requested—unreasonably, in Walsham's opinion—that the Sikkim force should again abstain from following up its enemy's retreat.[37] When Graham had returned from his punitive raid on Chumbi an arrangement was come to locally that Sheng Tai should come up to the frontier and discuss things with A. W. Paul, who was attached to Graham's force as political officer.[38]

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[28] Dufferin to Cross, tel. 2 May, 1888, quoting Resident in Nepal, with I.O. to F.O., 4 May, 1888, F.O. 17. 1108.

[29] Dufferin to Cross, tel. 28 May, 1888, with I.O. to F.O., 5 June, 1888, F.O. 17. 1108.

[30] Government of India, Foreign Dept., no. 170 Secret/External, 8 Oct., 1888, with I.O. to F.O., 2 Nov., 1888, F.O. 17. 1108.

[31] Parliamentary Papers, 1900, Vol. LVIII, 'East India (Wars on or beyond the borders of British India)'.

[32] Salisbury to Walsham, tel no. II, 27 Mar,, 1888, F.O. 17. 1108.

Two distinct topics were on the agenda, the status of Sikkim and the trade of Tibet, and the Foreign Department at Simla agreed with

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[33] Walsham to Salisbury, tel. no. 14 cyph., Conf., 29 Mar., 1888, F.O. 17. 1108.

[34] Walsham to Dufferin, tel. 22 July, 1888, F.O. 17. 1808.

[35] Dufferin to Cross, tel. 22 July, 1888, with I.O. to F.O., 4 Sep., 1888, F.O. 1108.

[36] Correspondence forwarded with Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., no. 195 Sec./Ext., 27 Nov., 1888, F.O. 17. 1109.

[37] Tsungli Yamen to Walsham, 1 Aug., 1888, and Walsham to Salisbury 11 Oct., 1888, enclosing this and other correspondence, F.O. 17. 1108.

[38] I. O. to F. O., 9 Oct., 1888, F.O. 17. 1108.

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the Bengal Government in thinking the former much the more crucial. "If reasonable trading concessions can be secured", Simla telegraphed on September 29, "this will no doubt be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, but we need not insist on free intercourse, which has its disadvantages". What was essential was to insist that "Sikkim is a British feudatory state having no concern whatever with any other power"[39]. An indemnity might also be demanded, but this should be waived in the interests of a friendly settlement: it would be unwise to take up too harsh an attitude[40]. If the wisdom of moderation was clear to Simla, it was still more clear to the Foreign Office in London, whose chief preoccupation was to avoid a quarrel with China, and where there was a disposition to suspect the India Office and Indian Government of risking such a quarrel by making an excessive fuss about a few barren square miles of the Himalayas. By way perhaps of a tactful hint the Foreign Office wrote to the India Office after the withdrawal from Chumbi: "Lord Salisbury highly appreciates the care and skill with which the Govt. of India avoided any step that could disturb the good relations between this country and China."[41] When instructions were drawn up for H. M. Durand, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, who was being sent to Sikkim to assist Paul in the proposed negotiations, the attitude towards China was certainly not unfriendly. Trade with Tibet was to be "a secondary object" only, though about Sikkim there was to be no compromise. "In any negotiations with the Chinese Ampa in Tibet, it is to be remembered that the Chinese Government have shown a very conciliatory spirit towards England throughout the course of the Tibetan difficulty. Mr. Durand should make it clear to the Ampa that the Government of India recognises the fairness of their attitude, and attaches a very high value to their good-will.... At the same time it should be made clear that, out of consideration for China, we have treated the Tibetans with extreme forbearance and leniency; that our forbearance has now reached its limits; and that...they will have only themselves to thank for any consequences which may ensue".[42]

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[39] Bengal Govt. to Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., tel. 27 Sep., 1888, and reply, 29 Sep., 1888, F.O. 17. 1108.

[40] As no. 30 above.

[41] F. O. to I. O., 8 Nov., 1888, F. O. 17. 1108.

On December 21 the Ampa (Amban) or Resident arrived at the frontier and was welcomed by Paul with "the utmost courtesy and good-will". Durand reached Gnatong three days later, and the talks were also assisted by two experienced officers of the Political Department, Ney Elias and George Macartney (son of Sir Halliday). Durand expected to find the Resident full of gratitude for what the Indian Government considered its remarkable patience and moderation; he was quickly disillusioned. Personally civil and agreeable, the Ampa showed no inclination to eat humble pie; being fresh to Tibetan affairs he was "greatly under the influence of his principal Assistant Ki"; and his entourage seemed to the British to be "by no means free from arrogance", though the sight of the well-equipped expeditionary force had a certain sobering effect. It also made a bad impression on the British that the Raja of Bhutan had been summoned to Gnatong to meet the Ampa, and the Raja of Sikkim, who had been brought back from Chumbi, was anxious to send him presents; the former had to be stopped, and the latter to be removed to British territory. No Tibetan spokesmen had accompanied the Chinese, and it seemed that the Resident was speaking for Tibet as much as for China. He would not admit that the issue lay—as the Indian Government saw it—simply between India and Tibet; his case was that "Tibet is a part of the Chinese Empire, and that the rights and interests of Tibet are the rights and interests of China". Durand was ready to admit that there would be some advantage for India in treating the Chinese, rather than the less civilised Tibetans, as the real masters of Lhasa; but he thought it inconsistent in the Ampa to say that he could not grant trading rights, because he could not guarantee the safety of British traders in Tibet. Sheng Tai was not excessively awkward about this trade issue; it must be settled, he said, by the Tsungli Yamen, but he "could repeat the general assurance given in the convention of 1886".

More stubborn was the question of Sikkim, which constituted in Durand's view "a most important precedent": if admitted there,

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[42] Enclosure no. 4 with Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., no. 3 Sec./ Ext., 8 Jan., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

Chinese pretensions on this side of the Himalayan watershed would be extended to Bhutan, Nepal, and even to Kashmir and its petty dependencies such as Ladakh. Sheng Tai asked for, and was given, the British terms in writing. In reply he asserted that Sikkim was to some degree subject to the authority both of Tibet and of China, and that she must continue to send some kind of tribute or homage to Lhasa. This was the same attitude as China had adopted in 1886 about Burma, though both Elias and Macartney conjectured that the Ampa had been pushed into it by his turbulent protégés in Tibet, whose demands he could not easily ignore. His assistants still seemed unafraid of any possible British action, and kept up a tone "rather threatening than deprecatory." A deadlock thus arose. There was some idea of bringing the Tibetans to terms by a further advance and the occupation of a town like Phari. But that, Durand commented, would be disliked in England and might cause friction with China; it would also involve expense, "while in themselves intercourse and trade with Tibet are really worth very little." He was instructed to re-state his basic conditions, and to break off the talks if they were not accepted. On January 8 he had a final discussion with the Ampa, who said much of the friendly relationship between Britain and China. Durand made a polite rejoinder, but repeated that Britain's claim to exclusive suzerainty over Sikkim could not be modified, and "gave him clearly to understand that our hands were now quite free." On the 16th Durand left Gnatong. The position was not altogether bad, he considered, since Britain was left in possession of the field, though a formal recognition of her right would have been even better; and he heard that the ill-supplied Tibetan army in the Chumbi valley was dispersing. At Calcutta he met J. H. Hart, brother of Sir Robert, the Inspector-General of Customs at Peking, and like him in Chinese service, who had been sent to India to take part in the negotiations, though without any precise instructions. Hart soon left for the frontier, where Paul and the Ampa were still marking time.[43]

India's real or supposed interests had thus come in conflict with

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[43] Memo by Durand, Encl. no. 5 with preceding, and his final report, forwarded with Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., no. 28 Sec./Ext., 12 Feb., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

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the wider British interests represented by political and commercial relations with China. During December Lord Duff had been succeeded by Lord Lansdowne, who as a newcomer was bound to be much under the influence of his senior officials. On April 18 Sir John Walsham telegraphed from Peking to the Viceroy that since what was in dispute appeared to be only a matter of form it ought to be easily possible to reach some accommodation, by discussions at Peking if not at Gnatong. Exaggerated accounts of the controversy, he pointed out, were afloat in the Press of England and India, and were "most injurious."[44] Lansdowne replied that India had only agreed to the talks in order to humour China, and had no wish to reopen them: and Paul was instructed to tell Hart that there could be no further discussions except on the basis of "the unconditional recognition of frontier indicated by us, and of our exclusive supremacy in Sikkim."[45] Walsham was not inclined to let the matter drop. "I respectfully demur", he cabled to London, "to the position assumed by Indian Govt. Tibet belongs to China." India had demanded withdrawal of the Tibetan army, and had secured this, mainly he thought through China's interposition; in the talks at Gnatong the negotiators had been at cross purposes; and China would be resentful if India refused to carry on the talks with Hart.[46] At the Foreign Office there was sympathy with this argument, and Lord Salisbury minuted: "The Government of India must bear in mind that they are injuring our relations with China as well as their own."[47] A letter was sent to the India Office in support of Walsham's view that only formalities were at stake: the Chinese "often hold more to questions of form than to those of substance." Means had been found to satisfy their objections to the annexation of Burma, without any ill effects, and in the same way now over Sikkim it would be better to make small concessions than to risk a breach; if discussions with Hart were not wanted there could be talks either at Peking or in London instead.[48]

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[44] Walsham to Salisbury, tel. no. 12 cyph., reporting this, 22 Ap., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[45] Lord Lansdowne (Viceroy) to Cross, tel. 20 Ap., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[46] Walsham to Salisbury, tel. no. 13 cyph., 22 Ap., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[47] Minute on Lansdowne's tel. 25 Ap., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[48] F. O. to I. O., Immed. and Conf., 26 Ap., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

To this remonstrance the India Office responded so far as to instruct the Viceroy not to cold-shoulder Hart, and to see if the Chinese would be content with a recognition of Tibet's claim to homage from Sikkim in the form of "purely complimentary letters" sent at intervals by the Raja.[49] A similar face-saving device had been accepted lately by China in the case of Burma. Somewhat grudgingly the Indian Government consented to hear what Hart had to say for himself. But Hart's requirements, as presented for instance in a paper he drew up at Darjeeling in May, were just what it was firmly determined to reject. "Sikkim", he wrote, "is under the protectorate of, and not annexed by, India, and China could not make any treaty respecting it ignoring the relations formerly and still existing, and which England has not destroyed nor China consented to annul."[50] Lord Lansdowne had already made up his mind that further talks with China would be worse than useless. "Any concession to the Chinese", he wrote to the India Office, "may weaken our position throughout the Himalayan slopes, in many parts of which she has pretensions."[51] Lord Cross entirely agreed with this view, and he saw no reason to fear any strain on Britain's relations with China, such as a further advance into Tibet would have provoked. "The Indian Government", he wrote to the Foreign Office, "does not entertain any hostile designs on Tibet which would bring Great Britain into collision with the Suzerain Power."[52] Cross also met Salisbury to discuss the problem, and Sir T. H. Sanderson at the Foreign Office noted that the Indian authorities were unwilling to have talks continued either at Peking or in London, fearing that their anxiety about repercussions in other Himalayan regions was not properly understood anywhere else. This the Foreign Office considered a short-sighted attitude—"They must run the risk of having the question revived at some time when it may be very inconvenient." Sir P. Currie, another permanent official, thought Walsham should be consulted before negotiations were finally broken off, and Salisbury himself added: "Yes. In any case the negotiations had better not to be broken off. They shd. be adjourned."[53]

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[49] Cross to Lansdowne, tel. 29 Ap., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[50] J. H. Hart to A. W. Paul, 9 May, 1889, enclosed with I. O. to F. O., 12 July, 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[51] Lansdowne to Cross, tel. no. 883 E, 2 May, 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[52] I. O. to F. O., 12 July, 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

The India Office was accordingly informed that "Lord Salisbury would greatly deprecate anything like an abrupt rejection of the Chinese proposals, or an absolute denial of rights to which, however shadowy in their nature, the Chinese Govt are found to attach so much importance. Such a denial is almost certain to lead to their re-assertion in some inconvenient manner." If the talks *were* to be brought to an end it should be done "in the most conciliatory manner."[54] The Government of India argued once more that, in the light of Hart's proposals, negotiation was "useless as well as dangerous," and dwelt on the "long forbearance under extreme provocation" that it had shown before giving the Tibetans a lesson that would, it hoped, keep them quiet for a long time.[55] Kashmir was brought in as an extra argument, on the ground that "Lhassa refuses to recognize Ladak as belonging to Kashmir", and that this made the Chinese claims in Sikkim all the more sinister. "There can, in our opinion, be no doubt that the Chinese and Tibetan pretensions in regard to Sikkim are part of a system, and that unless they are steadily resisted, we shall have much difficulty hereafter in dealing with the Himalayan States."[56]

Late in September Hart made a new overture, accompanied by a guarantee that "China will be quite able to enforce in *Tibet* the terms of the Treaty." The Bengal Government was impressed; the Indian Government, still obdurate, raised what seems the niggling objection that Hart was only offering India the "sole protectorate" instead of "undivided supremacy" over Sikkim.[57] And Lansdowne and Cross were still reluctant to have the talks transferred to Peking, for fear of losing their own control over them.[58] But Walsham had been asked for his opinion,[59] and in a kind of stealthy manner that he seems to have cultivated he went to work on the Tsungli Yamen. For some months little or nothing was heard in London about what he was doing; but on November 8 fresh and much-altered instructions were sent from Peking to Hart. Walsham, cabling this news to London next day, said that if these terms were rejected by the Viceroy China meant to make a direct appeal to the British Government; and he thought they ought not to be rejected, since they were "far more favourable" to Britain than the old ones, especially in recognising her control of Sikkim's foreign relations. "I hear", he added, "that the Chinese Govt feel hurt at what they conceive to be the intention of India to ignore China when dealing in future with Tibet, that the Emperor is annoyed at the delay in a settlement of the pending question, and that the Tibetans have complained to the Resident of the failure to arrange matters."[60]

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[53] Memo by Sir T. H. Sanderson, 15 July, 1889, and minutes, F. O. 17. 1109.

[54] F. O. to I. O., 19 July, 1889, F. O. 1109.

[55] Lansdowne to Cross, tel. 13 Aug., 1889, and Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., no. 128 Sec./Ext., 23 Aug., 1889—a long despatch surveying the whole course of the difficulty, and forwarding further correspondence with Hart; F. O. 17. 1109.

[56] Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., no. 123 Sec./Frontier, 16 Aug., 1889, with correspondence on relations between Kashmir and Tibet, F. O. 17. 1109.

[57] Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., 21 Oct., 1889, enclosing Hart to Paul, 23 Sep., 1889, in Parl. Papers, 1904, Vol. LXVII, 'Papers relating to Tibet' (C. 1920), pp. 3-5.

Even to the Viceroy China's new offer seemed "much more promising"[61], and at the Foreign Office it was warmly welcomed. "Some portion of the success", wrote Sanderson after a consultation with Sir Alfred Lyall—now a member of the Council of India—,"is no doubt due to the course taken by the Gov. of India. The Chinese seeing they could not hope to get any hold of Sikkim, have preferred at least to get recognition of their authority in Tibet. But I think we should give Sir J. Walsham credit for good management."[62] How much of the success was really due to the 'firmness' of Lansdowne and Cross, and how much to the tact of Walsham, is not easy to say. The latter probably deserved more credit than he got in the end, because, the Foreign Office noted, "he never reports his communications with the Yamen, and we know of them only by their results."[63]

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[58] I. O. to F. O., 20 Sep., F. O. 17. 1109.

[59] Salisbury to Walsham, no. 74, 19 July, 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[60] Walsham to Salisbury, tel. no. 28 cyph., 9 Nov., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[61] Lansdowne to Cross, tel. 24 Nov., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[62] Memo by Sanderson on Walsham, tel. no. 28.

[63] Note by Sanderson, 16 May, 1889, on memo by Sir C. L. Hill (Confidential Print, 5949) on the history of the case, 10 May, 1890, F. O. 17. 1109.

However, Lord Salisbury wrote to him: "I notice with satisfaction the extent to which you have induced the Yamen to modify the proposals hitherto made on their behalf by Mr. Hart."[64] In India a good deal of praise was given to Hart—"It was mainly owing to his conduct of affairs during his visits to Rinchingong in 1889 that the Tibetans (and even the Chinese) were brought to see the hopelessness of contesting our just claims to the sole protectorate of Sikkim."[65]

The new proposals, in any case, quickly led to a settlement, which the Foreign Office agreed to let the Indian Government, subject to its approval, embody in a treaty.[66] Hart was ready to give a formal promise "that China will not demand letters or presents from the Sikkim Rajah." In other words, the old Chinese claim to Sikkim was silently to be allowed to drop, even though it was not explicitly abandoned.[67] A Peking edict appointed Sheng Tai as plenipotentiary[68], and the only remaining obstacle for the Foreign Office was purely linguistic—"Mr. Bullock, one of our best Chinese scholars, says that no European could copy a Chinese text."[69] In March 1890 the Ampa reached Calcutta from Darjeeling, where he and his suite with their nose-pads, ear-pads, and padded goggles had been gaped at as "antediluvian monsters"[70]; and on the 17th he and Lord Lansdowne signed an agreement of which the Viceroy said: "The Convention affords in our opinion a satisfactory settlement of the points at issue."[71] Article II gave India, in fact, what had been demanded so obstinately: "It is admitted that the British Government, whose Protectorate over the Sikkim State is hereby recognized, has direct and exclusive control over the internal administration and external relations of that state..." Trade facilities across the Sikkim-

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[64] Salisbury to Walsham, no. 117, 12 Nov., 1889, F. O. 17. 1109.

[65] Paul to Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., 9 Dec., 1893, in C. 1920, p. 20ff. Cf. J. Bredon, *Sir Robert Hart* (1909), p. 193.

[66] Lansdowne to Cross, tel. 8 Jan., 1890; I. O. to F. O., Very Urgent, 9 Jan., 1890; F. O. to I. O., Very Urgent, 10 Jan., 1890: F. O. 17. 1109.

[67] Govt. of India, 8 Oct., 1888, cited in memo by Hill, above.

[68] Walsham to Salisbury, tel. no. 2 cyph., 30 Jan., 1890, F. O. 17. 1109.

[69] An F. O. minute in F. O. 17. 1109.

[70] Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 272 (with a photograph).

[71] Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., no. 31 Sec./Ext., 25 Mar., 1890, with correspondence, F. O. 17. 1109.

Tibet frontier, according to Article IV, would "hereafter be discussed with a view to a mutually satisfactory settlement"; and by Article VII Joint Commissioners were to be appointed within six months of ratification to thrash out this and other lesser reserved questions.[72] Ratifications were exchanged in London on August 27.

The final outcome may be viewed from three standpoints. First, Sikkim was now British: another petty satellite had been removed, like Burma four years earlier, from the orbit of China to that of the Indian Empire. Already, since the 1888 campaign, J.C. White had been appointed Political Officer to organise a new administration; an arrangement which the Raja took philosophically at first (he later tried to escape to Tibet again, and was made a State prisoner), though his wife flew into a violent passion.[73] Secondly, this result had been attained without any visible harm being done to Anglo-Chinese relations. Sheng Tai reported to Peking that he had been given an excellent reception in India, and the Minister in London, Liu Jui-fen, came to the Foreign Office to convey his Government's thanks to the Queen.[74] "The Emperor, my August Master", he further wrote, "has been much touched by these proofs of the excellent relations existing between the two countries." The Queen "received this communication with great pleasure", he was assured.[75] It may be that Peking was inclined to blame the Indian Government for anything disagreeable that occurred, and to think of London as a comparatively reasonable place—much as Britain had been compelled by recent events to reverse her earlier opinion and to consider the Chinese less unreasonable than the Tibetans.

Coming to the third aspect of the treaty, Peking had in effect got its way over Tibet. Any British penetration there, commercial or otherwise, was as far away as ever. This fact did not pass unnoticed in England. The Leeds Chamber of Commerce, for instance, reminded the Government that: "Under the Convention of July 1886 between Great Britain and China it is the duty of the Chinese Government to adopt measures to exhort and encourage the people of Tibet with a view to the promotion and development of trade with India. Nothing appears to have yet been done in that direction but on the contrary it is feared that Chinese influence in Tibet is hostile to British interests." These Leeds businessmen also rattled a familiar skeleton in the cupboard by saying that Russia had sent an expedition to Tibet, and another was now being fitted out at Odessa, nominally of a scientific character but likely to exert an influence bad for British trade. All the Foreign Office could reply was that it was "fully alive" to the importance of this question[76].

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[72] Text of the Convention in Parl. Papers, 1890-91, Vol. XCVI (C. 6208). Article I settled the frontier line.

[73] White, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

[74] Salisbury to Walsham, no. 74, 16 Oct., 1890, F. O. 17. 1109.

[75] Liu to Salisbury, 2 Oct., 1890; Salisbury to Liu, 16 Oct., 1890; F. O. 17. 1109.

Joint Commissioners—Paul for India, Hart and Ho Chang-jung for China—were duly appointed; it took three more years of wrangling at Darjeeling before they could agree on anything. At every step reference had to be made to Peking, where Hart's brother, Sir Robert, was consulted[77]. In India there was much complaining about the Chinese attitude, and specially about the "obstinacy" with which the Chinese "adhered to their desire to exclude Indian tea from Tibet."[78] On December 5, 1893, a set of trade Regulations were signed as a supplement to the 1890 Convention. They revived the old idea of a trade mart: this was to be at Yatung, just inside the Tibetan frontier (Paul had tried in vain to get Phari instead) and was to be open to all British subjects and to their commercial officials (Article I). Moreover goods entering Tibet by way of Sikkim were to be free of duty, at least for the first five years (Article IV)[79]. Even now, in reality, only a dint had been made in the wall round Tibet. When J. C. White was sent to Yatung for the opening of the mart, fixed for May 1894, he met with nothing but obstruction[80]. Recent events had inspired in the Tibetans a deepseated fear that Britain was meditating an invasion[81]. A series of foreign explorers, who were always having to be stopped and turned out, helped to fan suspicions: Rockhill in 1889 and 1892, Bonvalot and Prince Henry of Orleans in 1890, Captain Bower in 1891, Miss Taylor in 1892, Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard in 1893, the Littledales in 1894. One or two of these interlopers lost their lives; in general the Tibetans did nothing worse than expel them, though the friends of Kawaguchi, the Japanese Buddhist who came in 1898 and was believed a British spy, were seized and tortured[82].

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[76] Leeds Chamber of Commerce to Salisbury, 26 Nov., 1889, and reply, 3 Feb., 1890, F. O. 17. 1109, On the Russian expedition of 1889 see Sandberg, *The Exploration of Tibet* (1904), p. 232 ff.

[77] Bredon, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-4.

[78] Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., 2 Nov., 1892 (cf. its 4 July, 1893), in C. 1920, pp. 3-5.

[79] Text of the Regulations in Parl. Papers, 1894, vol. XCVI, 'Treaty Series, No. 11'.

[80] Younghusband, *op. cit.*, p. 53 ff.

Tibet in 1888 had fought a minor war in disregard of China's wishes; and it seems likely that Tibetan resentment was turned against China to some extent as well as against Britain. By having thus helped to weaken Chinese influence at Lhasa—and after 1895 China was, of course, growing weaker altogether—Britain was really making it easier for the Russian influence that she so much feared to enter the country. There was some ingratitude towards China in Tibet's attitude. Undoubtedly the diplomacy of Peking had played a useful part in helping Tibet to keep her doors barred[83]. To some disgruntled Englishmen China's whole policy ever since 1885 was simply "An admirable instance of the methods employed by the Tsungli Yamen for the backing out of its engagements."[84] One or two of them even clung to the old illusion that the Tibetans would be friendly enough if China were not leading them astray. One observer at Darjeeling described a high Tibetan official who came with the Resident in 1893 as "a most refined and well-informed gentleman, and very well disposed towards the English", and argued that the Tibetans ought to have been brought into the treaty as signatories instead of being ignored[85].

The same writer thought that Britain ought to have made use of her recent opportunities by annexing the Chumbi valley from Tibet[86]. On the whole it may indeed be said that the Indian Government,

[81] Capt. H. Bower, *Diary of a Journey across Thibet* (1891), p. 94.

[82] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Thibet* (1909), p. 670.

[83] E. Teichman, *Travels in Eastern Thibet*, (1922), p. 227.

[84] A. Krausse, *China in Decay* (revised ed. 1900), pp. 160-1.

[85] L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (1905), pp. 48-9.

[86] Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, pp. 279-80.

while extremely dogged about Sikkim, had still shown as in 1886 a good deal of moderation and restraint towards Tibet. From now on a new kind of policy was beginning to take shape; the 'forward party' was emerging whose influence was to bring about the 1904 invasion. With the disintegration that seemed to have attacked China by the end of the century, it could urge plausibly "the imperativeness of throwing over the Chinese intermediaries and dealing directly with Tibet."[87] The men who argued thus would have been astonished to know that the trade relations of India and Tibet would eventually be settled by a treaty signed, on April 29, 1954, in Peking.

V. G. Kiernan

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[87] Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, pp. 42-3.

Interpretation of the "Anatta" doctrine of Buddhism : a new approach

The importance of the "Anatta" doctrine in Buddhism needs no emphasising. With Anicca and Dukkha it forms the corner-stone of Buddhist philosophy. Therefore, a correct interpretation of the term is essential for a right understanding of the teachings of the Buddha. "In the whole history of Buddhist philosophy there has perhaps never been a more debated and more misunderstood term than anatta".[1] The *Buddhist Dictionary* remarks "It (Anatta) is the only specific Buddhist doctrine with which the entire Buddhist structure stands or falls".[2]

The Anatta doctrine is presumed to mean that there is no soul. It is taken as the opposite of attavāda. Does the word "Anatta" mean "not-Self" or does it mean "soulless", "without a soul"? Should the Anatta doctrine mean that everything is non-Self or should it mean that there is no soul? Not-Self or no soul—is the question.

To avoid possible confusion, it is necessary to mention at the outset that it would be better to use capital 'S' to denote "Attā" (Ātman), the (universal) Self, and small 's' to denote "attā" the individual soul or individual self. It is better, I suppose, to use the word "soul" in the sense in which it has been employed by the Eternalists (Sassatavādins).

The accepted meaning of "Anatta" is that there is no permanent entity in anything, be it a mental state or a physical object. Things are without a soul, "natthi etesaṁ attā". This kind of interpretation, though commonly accepted is open to serious objection.

Anicca and Dukkha are pure adjectives, and so they do not present any difficulty, but "Anatta" is a noun, the negative of "Attan", and yet it can be used as adjective as in a Bahubbīhi compound, like "ajjhattaṁ sukhadukkhaṁ", "sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhitattā" etc., and so a double interpretation of the term is possible. The difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the word "Attā" is used not only to mean the individual soul but also the universal Self. The Pali commentators, followed by modern writers, take the word "attā" only in the sense of an individual soul and "anatta" only as an adjective meaning "soul-less", whereas in reality "Anatta" is that which is not the universal Self, and the word is never used as an adjective. The distinction between "not-Self" and "soul-less" may not be clear in the English garb, yet, as we shall see, there is a world of difference between the two, and the difference is unfortunately overlooked or ignored.

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[1] *"The Self and its Complications"*—by W. Stede (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, 1948).

[2] p. 11.

In the first place, the accepted interpretation of the term "Anatta" as "without a soul" "without (durable or separate) self", "soulless"[3] is ruled out by grammar. "Matter is soul-less" cannot be the correct translation of "rūpaṁ Anattā" which should be changed into "rūpaṁ anattaṁ" to yield that meaning. But nowhere is such a reading found. The same remark applies to "viññāṇaṁ Anattā", cakkhu Anattā", "cakkhusamphasso Anattā", "yam p'idaṁ cakkhusamphassapaccayā uppajjati vedayitaṁ sukhaṁ vā dukkhaṁ vā adukkhamasukhaṁ vā tam pi Anattā". If the accepted sense of the word is correct, they should read "viññāṇam anattaṁ"[4], "cakkhu anattaṁ" etc. The fact is that here the compound "Anatta" is not a Bahubbīhi which behaves as an adjective; it is a Kamnadhāraya in which the word remains a noun. "Rūpam Anattā" cannot but mean "form is not-Self" according to the rules of grammar. But "Vedanā Anattā", "Saññā Anattā", "Sankhārā Anattā", "Sabbe dhammā Anattā" may be taken also to mean "feeling is self-less" etc; "all things are self-less"; though grammatically correct, such is not the import of the words. On grammatical grounds alone the popular interpretation falls to the ground. It is only by mangling grammar that the traditional interpretation can be upheld, but no student of language can support such an interpretation.

It is strange that this aspect of the question so obvious has so far escaped the notice of Pali scholars. Even Coomaraswamy wrote in 1916 in explaining "Anatta", "there exists no changeless entity in anything, and above all, no 'eternal soul' in man,"[5] and yet he added later on "the coining of the term anatta to imply absence of a perduring individuality is a triumph of ingenuity".[6]

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[3] It is so taken also in Sanskrit Buddhism —*Systems of Buddhist Thought*, p. 24f.

[4] It is interesting to note that there is a solitary instance of a variant reading—"viññāṇam anattaṁ" in Majjhima I, p. 549.

[5] *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, p. 198.

That the translation of the word "Anatta" as "soul-less" is incorrect becomes clear when the word "Attā" is used without the negative prefix "an"—e.g., "saṅkhāre parato disvā na ca Attato" which means "looking upon things as foreign and not as one's own Self". The word "Attā" simply means "Self"; it cannot be made to mean "having a self or soul". How then can the negative "Anatta" occurring in such contexts mean "not having a self"? It can only mean "not-Self".

Moreover, where the positive term "Attā" actually occurs side by side with "Anatta" in the Canon, the meaning of "Anatta" becomes further clear. The sentence "Anattasambhūtā dhammā kuto Attā bhavissati"? means "how can the states that are the product of non-Self be the Self?" Again, "Cakkhu Attā yo vadeyya......iṭi cakkhum Anattā"[7] cannot but be translated as "he who should say that the eye is the Self......the eye is not-Self". If, however, it is translated as "the eye is soul-less" it does not fit into the context. Then again, the sentence "yad Anattā taṁ n'etaṁ mama, n'eso'ham asmi, na me'so Attā" can only be translated as "that which is not-Self that is 'this is not mine, I am not this, this is not my Self". In the Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta too "Attā" and "Anattā" are found used together—"Rūpaṁ bhikkhave Anattā"(O monks, the body is not-Self)... ...rūpañ ca h'idaṁ bhikkhave Attā abhavissa (if, O monks, the body were the Self). The same is the case with the other factors vedanā, saññā etc. Here "rūpaṁ Anattā" cannot be translated in any other way except as "the body is not-Self"; it cannot be translated as "the body is self-less". If the word "Anatta" cannot be rendered in any other sense in the above contexts, how can it be otherwise rendered in other places? We cannot give a double translation according to our pleasure, in some places as "non-Self" and in others as "self-less". But this has actually been done by the scholars. One cannot have it both ways. Although the title of the Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta has been interpreted in both ways the word "Anatta" occurring in the text of the Sutta which explains the subject-matter has not been translated by any scholar as

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[6] *Ibid.*, 206.

[7] M, III. 282.

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"soulless". Jennings who translates "rūpaṃ bhikkhave Anattā" as "the material form, mendicant brothers, is not a permanent self" translates the title as "Discourse on the absence of signs of [permanent individual] Self"[8]. He also translates "sabbe dhammā Anattā" as "All things in nature are without permanent soul".[9] It is surprising that Rhys Davids who rendered "rūpam bhikkhave Anattā" in the body of the above Sutta as "O monks, body is not the "self", should describe the Sutta as one "on the non-existence of the soul".[10] With reference to the Sutta E. J. Thomas says "Buddha then preached to them on the non-existence of the soul. The soul (ātman) which is denied is not the self of actual experience, but a theory of the permanent nature of the soul, a reality held to be behind all the physical phenomena."[11] Dr. N. Dutt is also of opinion with regard to the Sutta that "Buddha denied the existence of "Attā", i.e., of any permanent substance apart from the khandhas."[12] U Ottama remarks that the Anattalakkhana Sutta "explains the most fundamental philosophical standpoint of Buddhism that there is no abiding permanent factor behind the phenomena either animate or inanimate known as the "Anatta theory."[13] These conclusions, however, are not warranted by the text which simply says that rūpa is not the Self, vedanā is not the Self etc. The Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta is a much-misunderstood sermon.

To come back to the interpretation of the word "Anatta"—if the word is taken as "soul-less" translation under certain contexts becomes odd. The sentence "Yo kho bhikkhave Anattā tatra vo chando pahātabbo,"[14] if translated by "you, monks, should give up your desire for that which is void of a permanent (individual) soul would mean by implication that you should not give up your desire for the soul !—a position which is exasperating. How again, should we translate "dukkhe Anattasaññā"—as "no-soul sense in suffering"—which is a meaningless expression; should it not rather be translated as "considering suffering as non-Self?"—the nature of Self being bliss? "Anatta" which means "non-Self" can never yield the meaning "without soul". Non-Self prompts the query "what is Self"? but then what is the opposite of "soulless"?.

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[8] *The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha*, pp. 42, 48.

[9] *Ibid.*, xliv.

[10] *The Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 113.

[11] *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 42.

[12] *The Early Monastic Buddhism*, p. 92.

[13] The Anatta-lakkhaṇa Sutta published by the Mahabodhi Society Introduction.

[14] S. III. 77.

From the translation of non-canonical literature too examples can be quoted to show that the word "Anatta" has been used sometimes as "non-Self" and sometimes as "selfless". Prof. U Pe Maung Tin in his translation of the *Visuddhimagga,* for instance, translates "saññā saṅkhāre ca Anattato passanto" as "he who sees perceptions and complexes as self-less";[15] "sayaṃ ca assāmikabhāvato Anattā" as "not-self because it is under no master"[16] and "Anattani Attā ti vipallāsaṁ pajahāti" as "abandons the perverted view that there is self in the selfless."[17]

The rendering of "Anatta" by "soulless" has led to a search for the school or schools which believed in a soul in things and against which the Anatta doctrine is supposed to have been addressed. It is worthwhile repeating that according to the accepted sense of the term "anatta" there is no immortal soul not only in man and other sentient creatures but also there is none in the objects of Nature. E. J. Thomas remarks "To what form of the Anatta theory the Buddhist canonical position was originally opposed is not clear. It might refer to some form of the Sāṅkhya or to the Jains".[18] Jennings echoes the above opinion when he says with more confidence that Anatta "seems clearly to have been intended to deny the Jain doctrine of indestructible souls or spirits pervading all matter".[19] Of course, Jainism, unlike the Sāṅkhya, believes in souls in every object, and the Buddhists also believe that these is no permanence in anything animate or inanimate; it is therefore, pssible that the anatta doctrine was directed against the Jains. It is however, difficult to accept the view that the Buddha should have cared to controvert a particular doctrine (the existence of souls) held by a school whose influence was quite limited, as it must have

[15] *The Path of Purity*, 480.

[16] *Ibid*, p. 739.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 567.

[18] *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 203.

[19] *The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha*, p. xliv.

been. Moreover, this particular doctrine of the Jains is nowhere clearly stated in the Pali canon; on the other hand the *Majjhima Nikāya* contains an account of the discomfiture at the hands of the Buddha suffered by one Saccaka, a Jain who held that the body is the Self, feeling is the Self, etc.[20] It is quite clear from what we have tried to establish that a search for a school against which the Anatta doctrine was directed, is bound to be futile. "Tesaṁ......appāṭihīrakataṁ bhāsitaṁ sampajjati".

It was not any tenet, Brahmanical or otherwise that the Buddha sought to counter by his Anatta doctrine. He warned one and all not to regard the khandhas or a part thereof to be the Self. They are not-Self—an-Atta; they are the others (*para*) as in the sentence —saṅkhāre parato disvā, na ca Attato. It is a failing of the human kind, and for that matter, of all sentient beings to regard the body or the mind or the body cum mind as the Self. The Self is the 'I' but the mind and body complex is nor the real 'I' or Self. When I say "I am healthy," I identify the Self with my body, when I say "I am worried," I identify the Self with my mind. This identification is universal; it prevails among men and women, young and old; it prevailed in the past; it will prevail in the future and in all countries. The Ātman forgetting its real nature believes itself to be the ego. Tho ego arises when the Self is identified with the khandhas. Ego and individual self are more or less convertible terms. Of all the identifications, "I-am-the-body" idea (dehâtma-buddhi) is the most widely prevalent. It is the distorting power of Avijjā which does all this. It is those who have destroyed Avijjā know their disembodied universal existence.

The quest for the Self has been the quest of mankind in every country. "Know thyself" was the sentence inscribed on the ancient temples of Greece. In India too "Know thy self"—Ātmānaṁ viddhi in Sanskrit and Attānāṁ gaveseyyātha in Pali was the primal question that the philosophers tried to tackle. We can deny everything but not the self. Even those who deny the self imply its existence by their very denial. The question, however, is—what constitutes our self? The Buddha repeatedly said that the five khandhas which sum up all the phenomena, mental and physical are not-Self—Anattā. If a man were to collect the faggots in the Jetavana grove and set them on fire, it would be absurd if we should say that he is collecting us and setting us on fire, similarly the khandhas we are made of are not us; we are not they.[21] When Mithila was burning Janaka declared "nothing of me was burnt"—Mithilāyaṁ ḍayhamānāya, na me kiñci aḍayhatha.[22] We take ourselves to be what we are not. An oft-repeated expression of the Buddha is "an unregenerate man views body, feeling etc. as the Self or the Self as consisting of body, feeling etc. or body, feeling etc. in the Self, or the Self in body, feeling etc.[23]—this is the famous Sakkāyadiṭṭhi, the so-called "theory of soul" which really is viewing the non-Self as Self. Śaṅkarācārya observed, in the same way "give up the idea of Self in the non-Self" which is quoted below. The Buddha advised us to give up that which is not ours—yaṁ na tumhākaṁ taṁ pajahatha, and what does not belong to us?—the five khandhas. How can we understand the passage without the Self being understood? There is a profound truth regarding us which the Buddha meant to convey by these words.

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[20] M. I, Cūlasaccaka *Sutta*, No. 35.

Different conceptions of what constitutes the Self prevailed, ranging from the crude body-am-I idea to the self in the highest stage of formless meditation—the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. See, for instance, the *Brahmajāla Sutta* pages 34 to 38. All these were not the Self—Anattā. In the *Chāndogya*[24] and the *Taittirīya Upaniṣads*[25] both of which are pre-Buddhistic, progressive definitions of what constituted the Self according to Indra and Bhṛgu respectively are described. Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on the Brahma Sūtra I also gives a list of the different conceptions of the Self. What many of the philosophers regarded as Attā, the Buddha considered to be Anattā.

The negative is the only valid way of describing the Ātman. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad the Ātman is described as "not this, not that" (neti, netyayam Ātmā). Śaṅkarācarya too said "I am not the body, nor the I-sense, nor the vital principle etc."[26] "All phenomena are not-Self. With regard to the khandhas, the Buddha announced "this is not mine, this I am not, this is not my Self". All description being description of qualities, that which is devoid of qualities can only be denoted by negatives, but that does not make Reality a negation.

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[21] M. I. 300.

[22] Jāt. VI. 54.

[23] M. I. 140f. These famous and frequently occurring words are interpreted by taking the word "Attā" to mean (according to their wont) the individual self but the meaning is not clear if the word is not used as universal Self.

[24] VIII. 7-12.

[25] III. 1-6.

When the Buddha asked a band of aristocratic youngmen (bhaddavaggiyas) whether it was not better to divert their search from a missing woman to the Self, he used the singular number. In fact Attā is always used in the singular number except in grammatical declension. That which is one appears as many. There are no selves but Self. The pure Attā has been imprisoned in a body, (and this we are accustomed to regard as not only a natural but also a desirable state). On account of Avijjā that which is universal appears as particular, that which is free as bound, that which is eternal as temporal, that which is infinite as finite, that which is unconditioned as conditioned. It is remarkable that the Buddha taught the abovementioned young men the path leading to Nirvāṇa. The search for the Self is the same as the quest of Nirvāṇa.

The Pali canon also speaks of the Big Self—Mahattā and the little self—appâtumā.[27] The difference between the Big Self and the small self is really one between the true Self and the false self. Are there then two selves—the false which is the ego and the real Self? No, there is only one Self which appears as many due to primal ignorance. The many selves are false and fictitious. They have no existence of their own. The ego-self is a fraud. Enquiry reveals its falsity and the reality of the universal Self. The obvious is not necessarily the real.

The universal Self is utterly different from the individual self. It is limitless. It is the true nature of all men and beings (sarvabhūtântarātmā). This Self pervades all creation. It is indivisible. This universal Self is the real self of man. There is no personal distinction between I, you, and he stemming from it. There is not one shred of individuality, no subject-object relationship whatever in the Self. The difference in selves is superficial. The Self that remains after the ego is destroyed is the universel Self. The Ātman "is neither born, nor does it die."[28] The same epithets are used for Nirvāṇa.[29] The epithets being the same the Reality of which these are the epithets must necessarily be the same. Names are labels which are attached to that which is nameless.

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[26] *Ātmaṣaṭka* I. See also his *Daśaślokī* I *and Tattvopadeśa*, 9.

[27] S. 140. and A I, 249. See Yamakami's "*Systems of Buddhist Thought* p. 24f. for "Mahātm an" and "hīnātman".

Historically speaking, the word "Anātman" is seldom found in pre-Buddhist literature. A probable reason was that that which the other teachers regarded as Attā was not so, at least so far as the Buddha was acquainted with the views of the contemporary philosophers as recorded, for instance, in the Brahmajāla Sutta. The references in the Vedic literature to Anatta are found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*—anātmā hi martyaḥ.[30]—that which is subject to death is not-Self. The *Taittīriya Saṁhitā* too refers to the word.[31] In the post-Vedic literature the Bhagavad Gītā contains the word in VI. 6. In the Vedānta literature the term is frequently met with. Never in the Vedānta the word has been used as "without a soul". Śaṅkarācārya wrote a work entitled "Anātmaśrīvigarhaṇaprakaraṇa" and also another book "Ātmânātmaviveka" by name. Some of his references to "Anātman" are given here—Viśvam avyaktaparyantam idaṁ hyanātmā—this Universe up to the unmanifested is non-Self.[32] Ātmânātmavivekaḥ kartavyo bandhamuktaye viduṣā[33]—to remove bondage the wiseman should discriminate between the Self and the non-Self. Ātmânyanātmamatiṁ jahi[34]—relinquish the idea of Self in the non-Self. Na câtmâyam Anātmā syād Anātmâyaṁ na ca Ātmakaḥ[35]—this Self cannot become non-Self, and this non-Self cannot become the Self. Ātmānam api dṛṣṭvā tvaṁ tyaja Anātmānam ādarāt[36]—(as a wise man who sees both poison and nectar even so) seeing the Self you discard with care the non-Self. Anātmanyātmadhīr bandhastannāśo mokṣa ucyate[37]—bondage consists in regarding the non-Self as Self, and its destruction is known as Liberation. Dṛśyaṁ sarvam Anātmā syāt[38] all things perceived are non-Self. Ātmânātmavicāraḥ kartavyaḥ[39]—one should discriminate between the Self and the non-Self. The Anātman is defined as anṛta—false, jaḍa—inert and duḥkha—suffering in the same book.[40] It seems that the word used by the Buddha was appropriated by the Vedantists.

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[28] *Kaṭha Upaniṣad.* Aja, unborn, ajara, undecaying, amara, immortal, amṛtyu, deathless, abhaya, fearless are some of the epithets of Ātman given in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. 4. 25.

[29] See the Ariyapariyesana S, M. I. 161f. See also the Gītā II. 20.

[30] II. 2. 3.

[31] VII. 12. 36.

[32] *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, 119.

[33] *Ibid.*, 152.

[34] *Ibid.*, 269.

[35] *Advaitânubhūti*, 29.

[36] *Ātmaprakāśikā*, 13.

The above examples from Sanskrit make the meaning of the word Anatta abundantly clear. Buddhaghosa defines Anattā as that which is characterised by the denial of soul (attapaṭikkhepato—*Visuddhimagga*, 668). He always uses the word Attā in the sencse of a permanent individual soul. Absence of control is a characteristic of Anatta (avasavattanâkaro Anattalakkhaṇaṁ—*ibid.*, 640); it is that which is under no master (assāmiko—*ibid.*, 612); which cannot be brought under order (avidheyya—*ibid.*, 479) and that which is without essence (asāra). Buddhaghosha uses the adjective asāra (essenceless) in explaining the Anattalakkhana Sutta (...idampi Anattā asāratthena—*ibid.*, 613). In what sense is it asāra? On account of the absence of soul-essence in the Atta conceived as a controller, doer, percipient and self-willed (asāratthenâti attā nivasī, kārako, vedako, sayaṁvasī ti evaṁ parikappitassa atta-sārassa abhāvena—*ibid.*, 610).

The meaning of Anattā was quite clear to the audience the Buddha addressed yet He sometimes chose to make the meaning clearer by means of similes of which one was absence of control (vasa) that is characteristic of Anatta (Vattati te tasmiṁ rūpe vaso—evaṁ me rūpaṁ hotu, evaṁ me rūpaṁ mā ahosi ?—M. I. 230). Buddhaghosha took up the simile. The ultimate Reality described as Ātman is our very own, and so we have perfect control over it, just as, on the contrary, we have none over the khandhas which constitute Anattā. The simile, however, must not be pushed beyond the point that Anattā being foreign to us is beyond our control. Attā is not a thing that we can fashion it in any way we like. The

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[37] *Ajñānabodhini*, 158.

[38] *Ātmânatmaviveka*, 1.

[39] *Ibid.*, 61.

[40] *Ibid.*, 118.

Paṭisambhidā (p. 37) says "Anattā asāratthena." Buddhaghosha too defines Anattā as asāra. The ultimate Reality, Ātman is meant here, That is the vastu; all else is avastu.

It looks as though, as a result of avoiding the use of Attā in the correct sense which is clear, the necessity of emphasising the characteristics arose, and the word came to be interpreted and understood more and more in terms of sāra, vasa etc. and, all the time they had at the back of their mind the concept of the immortal jīva. Attā itself never means sāra or vasa.

Mahāyāna too had developed the no-soul idea. Beside sarvam anityam and sarvaṁ duḥkham they have the formula sarvam anātmam (All is "without soul", "lacking a self"). This is significantly different from its Pali equivalent sabbam Anattā (on the analogy of rūpam Anattā). And they coined the term nairātmya to denote absence of soul. The word nirātma, however, occurs frequently in the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, as pointed out by Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Sakya*, 378). Nairātmya is of two kinds—pudgala nairātmya (no soul in man) and dharma-nairātmya (no soul in things).

Buddhaghosha observes in the *Visuddhimagga* (p.628) that Anatta is held to be Attā (Anattā pana Attā ti gahīta (?). The Buddha had contrasted Ātman, the Reality with Anātman nāmarūpa, but Buddhaghosha instead, contrasts Attā taking it to mean Jīva conceived as a permanant entity with Anatta which does not share the characteristics of such a soul. The sense is distorted and unclear. Buddhaghosha gave a lead in the interpretation (rather misinterpretation) which was followed by later writers including modern authors. Anattâ ti attanā, jīvena, puggalena rahito—so says the Commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* (J. P. T. S., 1889, p. 33). A modern author translates rūpaṁ anattā as material form is not "a permanent self" as quoted above. A contrast with sassatajīva is not involved here. It is not to be taken as repudiation of sassatavāda.

This change in the shift of the meaning of Attā from the Universal to the particular is a remarkable development of Buddhist thought. As a result the distinction that the Buddha had made between Ātman the sole Reality and Anatta the false, was lost sight of, and attā being taken as immortal individual soul, Buddhist thought eventually tended towards neglect and even denial of a transcending Reality. The study of the development of Buddhist philosophy is no doubt interesting but we are here concerned with what the Buddha had actually taught. The nairātmya idea is not to be found in the utterances of the Buddha which alone are authoritative. We are apt to interpret the teaching of the Buddha in terms of later development of ideas. This is the wrong way of trying to understand Him.

It may be argued that the Buddhists used the word in the sense of "without a soul" even though it is grammatically open to objection. But words convey ideas, and then the ideal too would automatically change from one of preaching of the Absolute that is the Ātman to that of preaching the doctrine whether there is or is not the immortal soul in man and Nature, which is an utterly different proposition. The change of connotation would involve a corresponding change in the quest of life.

The fact that there is no permanent substance in physical states is amply indicated by the words nijjīva"—lifeless (rather than "soulless"), "nissatta"—unsubstantial (rather than "not a sentient being"), and the use of the word "Anatta" in this sense is wrong. Moreover, the adjective "anicca" conveys the idea that there is no permanence in phenomena. Impermanence connotes lack of substance. The distaste for attā was possibly the reason for the kind of interpretation put upon the word "Anatta" despite the anomalies involved in doing so. We do not know how the distaste grew. It is possible that as Buddhism spread people who firmly believed in a soul were converted and hence emphasis was laid on the point.

It is remarkable that the difference between "not-Self" and "selfless" does not worry the scholars, as pointed out above. The one is naively changed into the other without a feeling of compunction. Reason demands a uniformity of interpretation one way or the other, but here there is only one way. Scholarship is not to be swayed by preconceived ideas or tradition, however ancient.

The fact is that opposition to the doctrine of Ātman is due to a misunderstanding of the implications of the term. The word "Ātman" means the universal Self and not the individual self. There is only one Self common to all, and the different selves arise due to wrong identification of the Self with the non-Self. The individual self is not the real Self. The Buddha's criticism is directed against the wrongly conceived Attā and not against the Ātman in the truest sense. The wrong conception arises when the individual self is regarded as the real Self. The ego is not the Self but passes itself off for the Self. The ego separates us from our real Self. The Buddha's attitude towards a wrong conception of the Ātman is being used against the reality of the Ātman. That wrong views regarding the Ātman were held to represent the real Self, was the Buddha's objection. So long as primary ignorance persists so long the individual selves also exist. There is no ego for the Arahat; for us, however, it is real. Anatta acquires a meaning only with reference to Attā, just as darkness does with reference to light. The negative invariably indicates the positive, the shadow the archetype. If we say—this is not gold, that is not gold, we do not mean that there is no gold. When the Buddha said in respect of the five khandhas "this is not mine, this I am not, this is not my Self", the question automatically arises "what is mine, who am I and what is my Self?" The band of five disciples understood that what is left after the khandhas are completely eliminated is that of which it could be truly said "this is mine, this am I and this is my Self." Surely Anicca, Dukkha and Anatta involve the existence and reality of their opposites. "If there is not the Unborn, how is escape possible from that which is subject to birth"[41]. The opposites of Anicca and Dukkha—Nitya and Sukha are mentioned as epithets of the Reality in Sanskrit[42]. In Pali, however, instead of nicca the adjective "dhuva", "accuta" are found as designations of Nirvāṇa. Primal ignorance may make us regard any state as nicca. Compare in this connection the bragging of Baka, a Brahmā god who regarded his impermanent state to be permanent, and his wrong notion was knocked out by the Buddha.[43] A potent reason for avoiding the use of the adjective nicca to denote the Ātman was that the word "nicca" was much associated by the Eternalists with the concept of a permanent individual self, and so the word was naturally avoided to designate the ultimate Reality.

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[41] *Udāna* II. 20; Pāṭaligāmiya Vagga, 3.

[42] Cp. the epithets of the universal Self mentioned in the Gitā : unborn (aja), permanent (nitya) and eternal (śāśvata).

[43] M. I. Brahmanimantanika S. "idaṁ saccaṁ idaṁ dhuvaṁ idaṁ sassataṁ idaṁ kevalaṁ idaṁ acavanadhammaṁ".

It is significant that nibbāna is described at least in one place as nicca (*Paṭisambhidāmagga* I, 238.) Nibbāna is, of course, also described as sukha.[44] In regard to Anattā its opposite is also necessarily indicated; there is no escape from this. If the meaning of "Anattā" is twisted, what would be the positive state to which the word would refer?—that which is devoid of individual soul would have as its opposite that which has such a soul (as indicated before). Moreover, unless the positive is assumed how can we explain, for instance, the parting advice of the Buddha exhorting us to take refuge in the Self (Attasaraṇa)—this is interpreted as the Buddha's exhortation to be self-reliant. Did the Buddha ask us to take refuge in the individual self which is unreal, illusory and non-existent as it verily is? Of what avail is catching at a straw, taking refuge in a falsity? Mr. Murty, however, thinks that the empirical self is here denoted (*The Philosophy of Radhakrishnan*, p.574). We cannot have it both ways—deny on the one hand that there is an individual self and on the other make it our refuge. .. Much of our estimate of Buddhism is vitiated by an inherent contradiction. It would not have been necessary to labour the point which is so obvious but for the fact that many people have no idea of the complexities of "Attā" by which they invariably mean the individual soul in which the soul-theorists of different categories believe. According to the testinony of the sages Ātman is Brahman, the Absolute of Philosophy.

Should the accepted interpretation be justified simply because it makes a distinction between Brahmanism and Buddhism? It looks as if a distinction must be made somehow between the two systems of thought, and so a distinction has been made on the basis of the interpretation of the Anatta doctrine. But the ultimate Truth is one, and the Truth discovered by the Upaniṣadic sages cannot be different from what the Buddha had discovered, and for that matter any sage (not saint) to whatever country he may belong. It is out of the question that the Buddha borrowed from the Brahmins. The same Truth was discovered by the Buddha independently, and the expressions were similar because of common environment. There is a remarkable similarity between the two peaks—the orthodox (non-dual) Vedānta and heterodox Buddhism. Spiritual truths are not different from scientific truths in that they hold good in all countries and for all times. Even other teachers separated in time and space have spoken, though in a different way of the same ultimate Truth. Christ said rather paradoxically "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it."[45] The ego must be destroyed before the reality of the egoless state can be attained. Research into comparative religion has established this fact that there is a transcending Reality which is expressed in different ways in different faiths according to the difference in historical processes. There is no room for proclaiming a new Truth. The formulation of the Truth may be different—that is all. The sages have all gone beyond the range and power of primal ignorance and arrived at the supreme Truth, and therefore, their description of Reality agrees in fundamentals, but the ideas in which that Reality is formulated and the language in which those ideas are couched must necessarily differ. On the other hand, those who have not been able to cut the Gordian knot of the Heart (hṛdayagranthi) arrive at different conclusions about the Truth, for they take nāmarūpa to be real, moving as they do, within the orbit of Avijjā. It would be amusing should anybody suggest that the highest Reality is Brahman and not Nibbāna. Brahman is equated with Ātman in the *Upaniṣads*,[46] and in the *Bhagavad Gītā* the two terms Brahman and Nirvāṇa are combined.[47] Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another. Therefore, Brahman is not other than Nirvāṇa. The highest Reality is one but sages give different names to it.[48] That does not make the Reality different. Nor is the Reality affected by our interpretation thereof. Imperfect interpretation does not make the Reality less real.[49]

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[44] Nibbānaṁ paramaṁ sukhaṁ.

Finally, as regards the bearing of the doctrine of Anatta on Liberation—the Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta which is found repeated again and again in the Canon gives us the secret of Deliverance. The bonds are first described—the assumption that the khandhas constitute our Self, and release from bondage is only possible by de-identifying the Self from the non-Self. When each of the non-Self khandhas is realised as "this is not mine, this I am not, this is not my Self"—n'etaṁ mama, n'eso' ham asmi, na me'so Attā—indifference to it automatically grows; indifference leads to dispassion, and dispassion results in deliverance—nibbindati, nibbidā virajjati, virāgā vimuccati. Thus did the band of five disciples attain Liberation. This is the sequel to the Anatta Lakkhaṇa Sutta. We can here compare the words of Sankaracharya quoted above "to remove bondage the wise man should discriminate between the Self and the non-Self." The non-dual Vedanta diagnoses the cause of bondage in the same way and prescribes the same method of release from it. Truth being the same, the process of realising it must also be the same, at least it is the same in both Buddhism and the non-dual Vedanta. Now if "Anatta" is taken to mean "soulless" what would be the nature of the bonds that bind us and the means to break them? Bondage, then,would consist in the wrong view that there is a permanent substance in everything, psychical or physical, and emancipation therefrom would lead to Liberation. Would the knowledge that there is no permanent soul in things and beings lead to indifference, and ultimately to Liberation? But where is the canonical support for such an assumption?

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[45] St. Luke 17.33.

[46] "Ayamātmā Brahma.

[47] II. 72. (Brahmanirvāṇa).

[48] Ekaṁ sat, viprā bahudhā vadanti

[49] Cp. "Truth is one, there is no second" *Suttānīpāta*, 848 (Ekaṁ hi saccaṁ, na dutiyam atthi).

There is no parallel in the history of Philosophy to this confusion based on the misunderstanding of a single word (Anatta) that gave a turn to the teaching of a Religion which was not intended by its founder. The word Anattā has been used in violation of its intention. The Buddha did not deny the reality of the Ātman but pointed out that it was wrongly identified—what was not Ātman was mistaken for Ātman.

R. P. CHOWDHURY

MISCELLANY

The Rise and Growth of Buddhism in Andhra

Buddhism entered the Andhra area at a very early time. Most of the centres of Buddhist interest are at present to be found in the Guntur and Krishna districts, though there are a few at other places also. On both sides of the Krishna river we get the places Bhaṭṭiprolu, Śrīkākulam, Amarāvati, Dhānyakaṭaka, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapeṭa, Bezawada and the like. In the interior, near Bhaṭṭiprolu we have Cherukupalli with a mound, Chandolu (formerly Nandavolu, Dhanadavolu, Dhanadapuri and Nandapuri), and Buddām (or Buddhapuri). Most of these places are connected with one another by the river. Some places of Buddhist interest are also to be found in the Telugu speaking areas of the Hyderabad state. But when was Buddhism introduced into that part of the country?

1. *During Buddha's time*

First we note certain facts referring to the time of the Buddha. During the six years of his struggle Gotama had with him certain companions, to whom he gave his first sermon after his enlightenment. In the names of these original followers we have strange names like Koṇḍanna, Bappa and Bhaddiya.[1] Here at least the name of Koṇḍanna is most familiar till this day in the Andhra area. This cannot be a sheer accident.

The Nāga king Mucalinda was one of the few first persons to meet the Buddha after his enlightenment.[2] These Nāgas are associated with the sea and are said to be living in forests and in a hilly country.[3] The Nāgas are located at a variety of places. The Gaṇḍavyūha tells us that Mañjuśrī lived in the extensive forest at Dhānyakaṭaka and that he converted there many Nāgas to the Buddhist faith; and this is corroborated by the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka[4]. Nāgārjuna was supposed to have brought the Mahāyāna Sūtras from the Nāgas. Here we have two lines of approach to determine the exact place of the Nāgas referred to here. The first refers to the mention of Mucilipatana in the Mahāvaṃsa.[5] It is the same as the modern Masulipatam, and it suggests that the place got that name from Mucalinda Nāga and his dynasty. Padmasambhava proceeds to the Asura cave where he learns that the Pāramitās were hidden in the realm of the Nāgas, in Urgyan.[6] In the life of Padmasambhava we read that Dhānykaṭaka was in the northwestern corner of the country of Urgyan.[7] Yuan Chwang refers to the Asura palace as being not far from the south side of Dhānyakaṭaka.[8]

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[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, 26th Sutta

[2] See *SBE.*, 21. pp. 80, 119.

[3] Jātaka, III. 82, V. 2

[4] Chapters 11 and 13

Our second line of approach is from the word Nāga, which in the language of the times was Nāya, as can be seen from names like Nāyajjuna and Nayanikā. The word Nāya with the Telugu nominative suffix '-ḍu' gives us Nāyaḍu and its variants Nīḍu, Neḍu, Nāyuḍu. and Naiḍu. This is the name by which a certain community in Andhra styles itself till this day. In this community particularly names having Nāga as a part are still frequent. It is a strong and powerful community in and around Masulipatam, and it has its branches elsewhere also. These considerations compel us to locate Mucalinda Nāga and his dynasty in and around Masulipatam which is not far away from Bhaṭṭiprolu. Mucalinda Nāga of this area was one of the few that met the Buddha after his enlightenment.

In the Andhaka territory, says the commentary on the Sutta Nipāta, there are Assaka and Mulaka[9] There are Brāhmaṇas in Andhra calling themselves Mulaka-nāṭi, belonging to the Nāḍu or Maṇḍala called Mulaka. This is the area comprising the south-east part of the present Hyderabad state with certain parts of Rayalasima. Godāvarī was said to flow through Assaka[10] and Mulaka. At the time of the Buddha, Assaka was ruled by the father of Prince Sujāta. The capital of Assaka was given as Potala, with its variants Potana, Potalaka, Podana, and so on. This name has now become Bodana and then Bodhan. The Vimānavatthu commentary has the story of an Assaka king who was ordained by Mahā-Kātyāyana.[11] This Mahā-Kātyāyana was one of the foremost of Buddha's disciples. That the Buddha sent this important disciple to a part of the Andhra is enough to justify the close relationship between the founder of the new religion and the Andhra area.

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[5] Chapter 36, p. 144

[6] Evans-Wentz: *The Tibetan Book of Great Liberation*, pp. 123-129

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 105

[8] Watters, II. 215

[9] *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 977

[10] *Digha Nikāya*, Mahā-Govinda-Suttanta

Amarāvati and Dhānyakaṭaka also have been in direct touch with the Buddha. One of the previous births of the Buddha was placed in Amarāvati.[12] According to a Tibetan tradition we hear that Śākyamuni promulgated the Kālacakra system in Dhānyakaṭaka[13]. We have earlier noted that according to the life of Padmasambhava written by his disciple the Buddha was born as Padmasambhava in Dhānyakaṭaka to propound the Tantric Buddhism.[14] The Vajrayāna thinkers tell us that the Buddha turned the third wheel of the Law at Dhānyakaṭaka sixteen years after his enlightenment.[15] These traditional accounts cannot be brushed aside as fictions, though the available Pāli canon may not mention these activities of the Buddha.

One more evidence comes from the inscriptions obtained at Bhaṭṭiprolu.[16] Judging from the script and other factors the late V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar has concluded that these inscriptions are definitely pre-Mauryan[17]. The first inscription speaks of the preparation of a casket and of a box of crystal to deposit some relics of the Buddha. Inscriptions 3, 5, 6, 8 and 9 speak of the various village communities and nigamas that have offered caskets, boxes of crystal and boxes of stone. The tenth tells us that even the women of Nandapura (modern Chandolu, near Bhaṭṭiprolu) and the sramaneras from Suvanamaha participated in this enterprise in memory of the Buddha who has departed. Why should even these women participate in this great task? They should evidently be Buddhists. But this alone will not explain all this eagerness and enthusiasm. These inscriptions clearly reveal that these preparations were made immediately after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha. And the enthusiasm of even the women can be explained only on the ground that they have seen the Buddha at least once in their life. And a couple of miles near this Nandapura we have a village Buddām (Buddhapuri), evidently named after the Buddha in memory of his visit to these areas.

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[11] See pp. 259 ff

[12] *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, I. 83

[13] See Sir Charles Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III. 386

[14] See Evans-Wentz: *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*, p. 105

[15] *History of Buddhism* by Hbrug-pa-dma-dkar-po, pp. 14b-15a referred to by Mr. R. Sankrityayana in his *Introduction to Vigraha-Vyāvartanī.*

[16] *Epigraphica Indica*, II. 323 ff.

[17] See his paper in the B. C. Law Volume.

2 *The Rise of the Mahāsaṅghikas*

In the second Buddhist congregation at Vaiśāli (c. 386 B. C.) the monks of Kauśāmbi, Pāṭheyya, Avanti, and other places came into conflict with those of Vaiśāli and Pāṭaliputra. These Vajjiputtakas under the leadership of Mahādeva convened another council called Mahāsaṅgīti and claimed Mahākassapa as their earliest expounder. But we hear of one Pūraṇa Dakkhinagiri in the Cullavagga who refused to accept the Law at the first council, because he wanted to stick to the Dhamma and the Vinaya as he himself heard from the Master[18]. It was a fact that there was a revolt. This revolt came from the Vajjiputtaka group which includes Ikṣākus. Earlier to the Sātavāhanas there were these Ikṣākus at Bhaṭṭiprolu, and later they moved to the area of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa also. The later prominence of the Mahāsaṅghikas in Andhra compels us to believe that the Ikṣākus who were among the Vajjiputtakas actually came from Andhra.

The Mahāsaṅghikās had also a saint called Sudarśana. They wrote a life of the Buddha in mixed Sanskrit; and this Mahāvastu represents the symbolic revolt against the language employed by the *sthaviras*. As the Dīpavaṁśa tells us, each sect with its rise changed the original texts, their arrangement, language and meaning[19]. Even the Prātimokṣa, says the Tibetan tradition, was written in a mixed dialect by the Mahāsaṅghikas. These changes are possible only in the area where Sanskrit was considered to be comparatively easier and better fitted than Pāli, because Pāli was not the mother tongue there, because the Brāhmaṇical writers were writing there in Sanskrit, and because these Brāhmaṇical writers of that region did not care to learn Pāli. These considerations point the source or birth-place of the Mahāsaṅghika movement as lying outside the area where Pāli was spoken or easily understood.

[18] See XI. i. 11

[19] See 5. 32 to 50.

Among the Mahāsaṅghikas there is an important branch comprising of the Śaila schools. According to Vasumitra the Śaila schools are Caitya śaila, Apara śaila and Uttara śaila. The Kathāvatthu renders them as Caityaka, Aparaśaila, and Uttarāpathaka. The Uttaraśaila has become Uttarāpathaka, and an erroneous interpretation has crept in. They have nothing to do with northern India. The Śaila schools comprising of Pūrvaśaila, Aparaśaila, Uttaraśaila, Caityaka and Lokottaravādins are collectively treated as Andhakas, Andhras, among the Mahāsaṅghikas. The inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati along with Yuan Chwang's statements place the Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila at Dhānyakaṭaka. The Mahācaitya at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was the place of the Caityakas. The other two are to be sought in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa area and in places near it.

Some of the tenets of the Mahāsaṅghikas are available in the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Here we find that the Buddha is not only "jita-rāga-dveṣa-moha", but we find "sammā sambuddhasa dhātuvara parigahitasa mahā cetiya", Here is a reference to the dharma-dhātu. The donors held that the merits of ordinary actions are transferrable, and that they long for the nirvāṇasampada not for themselves only. Words like "gahapati putasa dusakasa......" reveal that even householders belonged to the Āryasaṅgha. The extension of membership to householders is an important element in the Mahāsaṅghika ideology, and it ultimately led to the composition of Vimalakīrti-sūtra. These schools not only had the Dīgha and Majjhima-nikāyas, but had a Mātrikā of their own. This Mātrikā covers Vinaya and Abhidharma; and Yuan Chwang tells us that they had an Abhidharma-Piṭaka of their own.

From Vasumitra and from the Kathāvatthu we learn a good deal about the doctrines of the Andhra Mahāsaṅghikas. Only we should not regard the faulty Uttarāpathakas of Kathāvatthu as north Indian Mahāsaṅghikas. They are a branch of the Andhra Mahāsaṅghikas. The Andhaka view that the Buddha's actions are lokottara, and that the Buddhas have both kṣaya-jñāna and anutpāda-jñāna refers to the sambhogakāya. The Uttaraśailīyas held that the Buddhas can have no karuṇā; and this is the basis of the conception of the Dharmakāya, of Śūnyatā. They also believed that even householders can become arhats. These and similar doctrines played a considerable part in the evolution of Mahāyāna which has to be traced to the Andhakas.

3. *The Mahāyāna Texts*

Coming to the texts accepted as authoritative by the Mahāyānist we find that a great many of these texts actually originated at the hands of the Andhra Mahāsaṅghikas. From various sources we gather that Nāgārjuna brought from the dynasty of Mucalinda Nāga the great texts like the Prajñā-Pāramitās, the Avataṃsaka and the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka; and that after Nāgārjuna there were no fresh Mahāyāna texts. We have found that these Nāgas were the inhabitants in and about modern Masulipatam. According to Taranatha, some of the śrāvakas actually attributed the composition of the Śatasāhasrikā to Nāgārjuna. The same Taranatha tells us that the Aṣṭasāhasrikā was composed after the time of Mahāpadma Nanda. The Tibetan tradition admits that the Śaila schools had a Prajñā-Pāramitā in Prakrit. This Prakrit can only refer to the language spoken near and around Masulipatam and Dhānyakaṭaka. Nāgārjuna we can understand brought forth these texts written or compiled by the Nāgas in their own language, and sanskritised them. In the Aṣṭasāhasrikā we actually read: "These Sūtrāntas, in which the six Pāramitās are taught, will originate in Dakṣiṇāpatha after the passing away of the Tathāgata; from the south they will go (vartanyām) to the east and from the east to the north"[20]. And Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt had to say: "Putting all these pieces of evidence together, we may conclude that Mahāyāna Buddhism originated about the first century B.C., in Andhra country where the Mahāsaṅghikas had their centre; it became a recognised form of Buddhism at the time of Kanishka; and then it spread all over northern India in the first or second century A.D., to blossom into its full glory under the care of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu"[21].

The basic texts of Mahāyāna, it is now clear, originated in Andhra Śaila schools. The Saddharmapuṇḍarīkā and its 24th chapter entitled Avalokiteśvara-Vikurvaṇa-Nirdeśa, Avataṃsaka-sūtra comprising of the Gaṇḍavyūha and Daśabhumika, and the Pāramitās have come from the Nāgas through Nāgārjuna. The Vimalakīrti-sūtra, we have seen, is foreshadowed in the admission of the householders to the Āryasaṅgha at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Parinirvāṇa-sūtra is the logical outcome of the Andhaka emphasis on Bodhicitta. The Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra with its faith in Amitābha, goes to the teacher of Nāgārjuna who lived at Dhānyakaṭaka as we will presently show. Here we have all the Mahāyāna texts except the Laṅkāvatāra, which begins with Rāvanādhyeṣaṇā and which has Mañjuśrī as its interlocutor. The introduction of the scene in the south and presence of Mañjuśrī will take this text also to the same locality.

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[20] See pp. 225 ff.

[21] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 388.

4. *The Bodhisattvas*

With the rise of the Mahāṣaṅghikas in Andhra there also arose a few Bodhisattvas, who were actually located in certain parts of the Andhra country. The vogue of the very presence of these Bodhisattvas was so great and compelling that a Brāhmaṇa left his home at Takṣaśilā, according to the Bhīmasena Jātaka, and came to the Andhra country to gain practical experience for becoming a Bodhisattva.

The first Bodhisattva is Mañjuśrī, who is treated as Kumāra and Kumārabhūta. As Kumāra he remained in the Śaiva pantheon, and as Kumārī he became Bālā, the original deity at Tirupathi and at the Durgā temple on the Bezawada hill called Indrakīla. In the Gaṇḍavyūha we learn that Manjuśrī lives in a wide *vana* (forest) at Māla-dhvaja-vyūha-caitya lying to the east of Dhānyakaṭaka[22] In the Māradamana-sūtra quoted in the Prasannapadā we hear of Mañjuśrī coming to the Indrakīla hill of Bezawada to kill Māra.[23] Having his permanent abode at the Mahāvana of Dhānyakaṭaka, Mañjuśrī came into prominence as a Bodhisattva, probably due to the labours of the Mahā-vana-śailīyas. Then as the Māradamana-sūtra tells us, he moved to Bezawada; and the socalled image of Kanaka-Durgā goes back to Mañjuśrī, who was credited with the conversion of the Nāgas.

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[22] "*Dhanyākarasya mahā nagarasya pūrveṇa vicitra māla-dhvajavyūham nāma mahāvana khaṇḍam pūrva buddhādhyāsitam tathagatādhisṭhṭhitam*......" See also *Saddharma*, chapters 11 and 13

[23] *Buddhist Text Society of India Edition*, pp. 107-108: "*Ata evoktam arya Māra-damana-sūtre—'Atha Mañjuśrīḥ Kumārabbhūtaḥ tasyām velāyām tathā rūpam samanvāharam samanvāharati sma. Yan māra pāpiyāṇ Indrakīla bandhana baddho dharaṇi tara*......"

The next Bodhisattva is Amitābha whose worship goes back to Saraha, the teacher of Tantric Nāgārjuna. This Saraha or Rāhulabhadra says Taranatha, "saw Amitābha in the land of Dhingkota and died with his face turned towards Sukhāvatī"[24] This Dhingkota is a corruption of Dharaṇikoṭa, the later name of Dhānyakaṭaka. In the life of Padmasambhava we read that when there was a famine in Dhānyakaṭaka, Avalokiteśvara appealed to Amitābha who thought of taking birth in the Dhanakaṭaka lake. And from the heart of Amitābha there emerged a Vajra, of the Vajrayāna school in all certainty.[25] The same Dhānyakaṭaka gave both Amitābha and Sukhāvatī, besides the Vajra which is held to be a technical term for Śūnyatā. Here is also the origin of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra.

The third Bodhisattva is Avalokiteśvara whose connections with Dhānyakaṭaka and Amitābha are apparent in the foregoing account. Avalokiteśvara is the spiritual son or reflex of Amitābha. The Buddhist tradition connects Avalokiteśvara with Potala or Potalaka. Yuan Chwang in his hurry placed it in Malakūṭa which too he did not see[26]. That Potala was the capital of Assaka on Godāvarī, an Andhaka country, we have already seen. It has also been tentatively identified with modern Bodhan. This is the seat of Avalokiteśvara.

The fourth Bodhisattva is Samantabhadra who appears with his magnificent and sublime ten vows for the first time in the Avataṃsaka, a text brought forth by Nāgārjuna from the family of Mucalinda Nāga. These four Bodhisattvas constitute the front rank of the original Bodhisattvas that are introduced into the new canon by the Mahāsaṅghikas of the Śaila schools to revolutionise the old gospel.

P. S. Sastri

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[24] See Sir Charles Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III. 219. See also Schiefner's Taranatha, pp. 93, 105, 303.

[25] See Evans-Wentz: *Tibetan Book of Great Liberation*, pp. 106-107.

[26] However Yuan Chwang admits with I-Tsing that Buddhism flourished in Samataṭa; and I-Tsing mentions the images of Avalokiteśvara and the reading of the Pāramitās in Samataṭa. (See Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III. 53). Samataṭa has variants Samanta and Samantamukha. The *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* clearly mentions Samantamukha or Samataṭa, and treats it as a city in Mulaka. We have to look for this city in the south-eastern parts of the present Hyderabad territory, which part was formerly the Mulākanāḍu.

A note on 'Sahajā-suhṛt'

(*Prabodhacandrodayam*).[1]

Prabodhacandrodyam, which, as is well-known, is an allegorical drama, written by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Miśra depicting conflict in human mind between Viveka (conscience) and Mahāmoha (delusion), was enacted in the presence of the Candella Kirtivarman, of whom we have records of the years 1075,[2] 1090[3]. and 1098A.D.[4] In its introductory portion certain facts are mentioned throwing light on the political condition of the country. Here the *Sūtradhāra* announces[5] that the play was ordered by Śrī Gopāla, described as a natural friend (sahaja-suhṛt) of the Candella king Kīrtivarman. It is also stated in this connection that Gopāla acted as the saviour of the Candella kingdom at a time of great crisis and liberated it from the clutches of the Cedi prince Lakṣmīkarṇa.[6] The precise meaning of the epithet 'sahaja-suhṛt' used in this context should be investigated to ascertain the nature of relationship of Gopāla with the Candella king Kīrtivarman as well as his status in the Candella court.

The available Candella records indicate that their fortune was at a low ebb before the accession of Kīrtivarman, due to the military successes of Kalacuri Lakṣmīkarṇa. Bilhaṇa, the court-poet of Cālukya Someśvara I (1044-68A.D.) seems to have referred to this eclipse of the Candella power in his '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*', where Karṇa has been described as 'kālaḥ Kālañjara-giripater-yaḥ',[7] i.e., 'death to the lords of the Kālañjara mountain.' The eloquence of the Candella records[8] testifies to the importance attached to the victory of the Candella king Kīrtivarman over the Cedis.

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[1] Nirṇaya Sāgar Press Edn. Bombay 1924.

[2] Darbāt Śāntinātha image Insc. of V.S. 1132. (1075 A.D.). The name of the king, which was earlier read as Kīrttidhara by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, has been recently read as Kīrttivarman by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *IHQ.*, vol. XXX, pp. 183-85.

[3] Noticed by Chakravarti in An. Rep. A.S.I., 19 6-37, p. 93.

[4] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pp. 237-39.

[5] I. 3. (pp. 10-12).

[6] I. 9. (pp. 21-22).

[7] Buhler's Edn. XVIII. 93.

[8] Fragmentary Mahobā Insc (*Epi. Ind.*, I. p. 217, V. 26); Ajaygadh Rock Insc. of Vīravarman (*EI.*, p. 327, 329, V. 3); Fragmentary Kālañjar Insc. (*JASB.*, vol. XVII, 1848, p. 317).

The episode has also been related in the prologue of the drama, *Prabodhacandrodayam*. One cannot, however, fail to notice a serious discrepancy which exists between the account furnished by epigraphic sources and the one contained in the drama. In the former the credit for defeating the Cedi ruler Karṇa has been given to Kīrtivarman, but in the drama both the *Sūtradhāra*[9] and the *Naṭī*[10] state that it was Śrī Gopāla who inflicted a crushing defeat on Lakṣmīkarṇa and re-installed the Candella prince Kīrtivarman on the throne. As the play was staged before Kīrtivarman, the reigning monarch, it may be presumed, as has been done by Dr. H. C. Ray,[11] that the story given in the drama could not have offended the king as it was true.

From the drama it appears that Śrī Gopāla was held in high esteem at the court of Kīrtivarman, particularly by the feudatory princes. The *Sūtradhāra* says, "Ādiṣṭo'smi sakala-sāmantacakra-cūḍāmaṇi-marīci-mañjarī-nirājita-caraṇa-kamalena............... Śrīmatā Gopālena".[12] This means that he was ordered to stage the drama by Śrī Gopāla on whose lotus-like feet were reflected the crest-jewels of the circle of the feudatory princes.

This passage is very important. But it is found that it has not been correctly interpreted by some scholars. They have relied upon this passage in inferring that Gopāla served as the Chief Sāmanta or feudatory under Kīrtivarman. The relevant portion of the text, which I have quoted, does not lend any support to this view, which is based on 'sakala-sāmantacakra-cūḍāmaṇi' being taken as an epithet of Gopāla.[13] But it is not so, as it is a part of the compound, which includes 'marīci-mañjarī-nirājita-caraṇakamalena' used as an epithet of Gopāla. It would be a mere guess if Gopāla is taken as a Chief Sāmanta. There is no definite proof in support of this view in the passage quoted. It is noteworthy that the commentator Nāṇḍillagopa-prabhū in explaining 'Śrīmatā Gopālena' applies the designation 'rājan' to him,—'Śrīmāta mahānubhāvena Gopālena rājñā.'[14] Hultzsch,[15] and following him V. Smith,[16] took Gopāla to be a Brāhmaṇa General of Kīrtivarman. It is not known why Hultzsch took him as belonging to the Brāhmaṇa caste.

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[9] I. 6 & 9. pp. 19, 21-22.

[10] I. 6."...Kṛṇṇasenāsāaraṁ ṇimmahia Mahumahaneneva khīrasamuddam-āsāditā samaravijaalacchī/" (Sanskrit rendering—Karṇasenāsāgaraṁ nirmathya Madhumathaneneva Kṣīrasamudramāsāditā samara vijayalakṣmīḥ/).

[11] *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 697. f. n. 3.

[12] I. 3.

[13] *DHNI*., vol. II, p. 695.

We may next refer to the information supplied by the drama with regard to Gopāla's activities. He was the main architect of the 'digvijaya' of the ruler Kīrtivarman. With sword as his only friend (asilatāmātra-mitrena)[17],—Gopāla extirpated the enemies not sparing even the women, the aged and the children (yasya strī-bāla-vṛddhāvadhi nidhanavidhau viśruto'sau).[18] With great passion he desired, as the *Sūtradhāra* says, to re-establish the sovereigns of the race of the Moon, dethroned by the lord of the Cedis, who has been compared to Rudra, the fire that destroyed all the royal families (yataḥ sakala-bhūpāla-kula-pralaya-kālāgni-Rudrena Cedipatinā samunmūlitaṁ Candrānvaya-pārthivānāṁ pṛthivyām-ādhipatyaṁ sthirīkartuṁ ayamasya samrambhaḥ)[19]. Gopāla having overcome Karṇa caused the rise of the illustrious Kīrtivarman, just as conscience overcoming delusion gives rise to knowledge.—"Vivekeneva nirjitya Karṇam-mohamivorjitaṁ/। Śrī Kīrtivarmanṛpater bodhasyevodayaḥ kṛtaḥ//9". Gopāla having acted as the saviour of the Candella sovereignty, and having re-installed Kīrtivarman there (sāmrājye Kīrtivarma-narapati-tilako yena bhūyo'-bhyaṣeci//4.) is regarded by the author to be as great as Viṣṇu, represented in the Man-lion (Nṛsiṁha), the primeval Boar (Mahā-varāha) and Paraśurāma incarnations.

These references taken together indicate that Gopāla must have shown exceptional skill as a military leader or a general in organising the campaigns of Kīrtivarman and winning victories for him. This is particularly supported by the passage in which Gopāla's part in Kīrtivarman's *digvijaya* is definitely mentioned. "Yathā khalvasya sahaja-suhṛdo rājñaḥ Śrī Kīrtivarma-devasya *digvijaya* vyāpār-āntarita parabrahmānanda-rasair-asmābhiḥ samunmīlita-vividha-viṣaya-rasāsvāda-duṣitā-iv-ātivāhitā divasāḥ".[20] As this natural friend of king Kīrtivarman was engaged in the 'digvijaya-vyāpāra' of the king, the

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14 p. 12. f. n.

15 E.I. vol. I. p. 220.

16 Ind. Ant. 1908. vol. XVIII. 143.

17 I. 4. p. 15.

18 I. 7. p. 20.

19 I. 6. p. 19.

20 I. 9. (p. 12).

enjoyment of the supreme bliss was kept suspended, and the days were vitiated by various kinds of material pleasures.[21] Thus his important role in the victorious expeditions of the king is clearly indicated in the passage.

Gopāla's services to the Candellas as Kīrtivarman's sahaja-suhṛt cannot be over-estimated. We do not gain very much by simply taking this expression to mean a natural friend. It may be pointed out that the term 'sahaja-suhṛt' or 'sahaja-mitra' has some special significance in Hindu political philosophy. Kauṭilya applies the expression to denote the territory beyond that of the immediate neighbour, the latter being called an enemy (ari). "Bhūmyekāntaraṁ prakṛti-mitraṁ mātā-pitṛsambandhaṁ sahajaṁ, dhana-jīvita-hetorāśritaṁ kṛtrima-mitraṁ". (Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*, Maṇḍala yoniḥ ṣaṣṭham adhikaraṇaṁ, Śamavyāyāmikaṁ prakaraṇaṁ.)." "He, whose friendship is derived from father to grand-father, and who is situated close to the territory of the immediate enemy of the conqueror, is a natural friend; while he, whose friendship is courted for self-maintenance is an acquired friend". (Shamashastry's edn., p. 290). Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in commenting on this expression observes that, one kind of 'sahaja-mitra' is, as already stated, the friendly state situated beyond the immediate neighbour-state: "svabhūmyeka-vyavahitaṁ prakṛtimitraṁ ekaṁ sahaja-mitraṃ".[22] But there is apparent difficulty in accepting Gopāla as an ally of the Sahaja-mitra-type as neither any royal title has been applied nor any specified territory assigned to him in the text.

The other type of sahaja-mitra, mentioned by Kauṭilya, as explained by Mm. Śāstrī, is represented by one's cousins, sons of maternal uncles and paternal aunts. (Mātula-paitrsvaseyādirūpaṁ aparaṁ sahaja-mitraṁ)[23]. In the *Śiśupālavadhakāvya*[24] also a similar expression has been used to explain the relationship between Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śiśupāla.

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[21] The inference that Gopāla himself became 'viṣaya rasāsvādaduṣita' as found in *DHNI.*, vol. II. p. 696, ll. 14-15 is evidently unacceptable.

[22] Kauṭilīya *Arthaśāstra.* Gaṇapati Śāstrī's edn. p. 233.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Canto II. V. 36-37. Mallinātha's commentary—'Saha jātaḥ sahajaḥ/. Ekaśarīrāvayavatvāt tatra sahajaṃ mitraṁ mātṛsvase-pitṛsvāseyādi.'

In the circumstances it may not be wrong to presume that the expression 'sahaja-suhṛt', as used in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* nāṭaka, bears the meaning given to it by Kauṭilya, as commented on by Mm. G. Sastri. In that case Gopāla may be taken to have been a cousin of king Kīrtivarman. It was Gopāla who organised the armies of the Sāmanta chiefs and defeated the Cedi prince Karṇa, and it was he, who was mainly instrumental in reviving the Candella power. This was admitted by king Kīrtivarman in permitting the drama to be staged in his own presence, and it is further proved by the interest he took in the performance of it, as mentioned by the *Sūtradhāra* in the passage:—"Rājñaḥ Śrī Kīrtivarmanaḥ purastād abhinetavyam bhavatā/Asticāsya bhūpateḥ sapariṣadas-tad-avalokena kutūhalam-iti"//. i.e. The drama had been enacted before the king Kīrtivarman who expressed particular curiosity in witnessing the show along with his courtiers.

There is therefore no real discrepancy between the literary and inscriptional accounts, as both mention the restoration of Candella power to have taken place during the time of Kīrtivarman. The 'digvijaya, referred to by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Miśra, is also attributed by him to Kīrtivarman. Kṛṣṇa Miśra's drama only furnishes some necessary details about the leadership in the battle which resulted in the Candella victory. The leadership was in the hands of Gopāla, Kīrtivarman's 'sahaja-suhṛt' or cousin, who must have also made himself conspicuous by organising a confederacy of the Sāmantas of the Candella state.

Sisir Kumar Mitra

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25 I. 4. pp. 13 14.

Bhubaneswar Inscriptions of Gaṅga Narasiṁha I

1. *Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of Year 4*

The inscription under study, which is incised on a wall inside the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, Orissa, was originally noticed by Mano Mohan Chakravarti in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1903, p. 118. Chakravarti transcribed only the date portion of the record; but his reading is wrong. About twenty years ago, I prepared a transcript of the inscription from an inked impression received from Pandit Binayak Misra. The transcript was published in *Indian Culture*, III, p. 124-25, but it is full of misreadings, so also Das's transcript of the record in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 4.

In this paper I am publishing my revised transcript of the inscription in question together with an analysis of its contents.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose. The style is ornate, e.g. the use of *śaśi-kalā-śekhara-śiraḥ-srotasvatī* (lines 3-4) used to indicate the sacred river Ganges, and *kāyastha-kula-kamalinī-kumudabandhu* to indicate a member of the Kāyastha community. An interesting feature of the language is that it exhibits some influence of the local dialect. The word *sodara* (line 4) has been used in its Oriya sense of 'equal' while the Oriya word *maṇohi*, , meaning *naivedya*, has been used in its Sanskrit garb as *manohita* (line 8).

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the auspicious word *Svasti* which are followed by the date of the record in lines 1-3. It is the fourth year of the sovereignty of king Vīra-Narakesarin who was the grandson (*tanuj-āṅgaja*) of Rājarāja. There cannot be any doubt that king Vīra-Narakesarin is the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha I (circa 1238-65 A.D.). Gaṅga Narasiṁha I was the son of Anaṅgabhīma III (circa 1211-38 A.D.) and the grandson of Rājarāja III (circa 1198-1211 A.D.). There is an epithet, which seems to be meant for Rājarāja and not for his grandson Vīra-Narakesarin, saying that the king's sword caused terror to the dominions as well as to the generals, elephant force and cavalry of Gaṇapati. There is little doubt that Gaṇapati is the same as the homonymous Kākatīya king who ruled from 1199 to 1260 A.D. Whether *sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka-caturtha-saṁvatsara* indicates the fourth regnal year of Narasiṁha I or his fourth Aṅka year corresponding to his third regnal year is difficult to determine. But, considering the popularity of the Aṅka reckoning in Orissa during the age of Narasiṁha I, the second alternative seems to be more probable.

Lines 3-6 speak of the person who was responsible for the pious deed recorded in the inscription. His name was Manomānasa and he appears to have been the resident of a locality called Kalasī. Manomānasa belonged to the Kāyastha community and was devoted to the god Vyomakeśa or Śiva. The remaining portion of the inscription (lines 6-9) describes a grant of land made by Manomānasa in favour of the two deities, lord Kīrttivāsa (Kṛttivāsa) and Siddha-Lambodara. This Kīrttivāsa is no other than the Śiva-liṅga worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple, on the wall of which the inscription under study is incised. The gift was in respect of five Vāṭikās or Vāṭis and five Mānas of land in the villages of Citrā and Gaḍisagopa situated in the *viṣaya* or district of Kalambora. Twenty *Mānas* make one *Vāṭi* of land and one *Māna* is now regarded as equal to an acre in Orissa. The object of the grant was the following: (1) performance of the daily worship of the said gods thirty times on each one of the thirty days of the month with fifteen scented flowers on each occasion; (2) the daily supply of *manohita* (i.e. *naivedya*) together with *dadhi*, *ghṛta* and *vyañjana*; (3) the supply of a lakh of *puṣparāja-nīlotpala* during the autumn season of every year; and (4) the supply of betel leaves. It seems that *nīlotpala* or the blue lotus has been called *puṣparāja* or the best of flowers in the inscription. The word *puṣparāja* usually means 'topaz'; but that meaning does not appear to suit the context.

There are three geographical names in the inscription. They are the district of Kalambora and the villages of Citrā and Gaḍisagopa. The same district is also mentioned in other inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja temple.

TEXT

1 [*Siddham* Symbol.] Svasti (| *) sva-kara-karavāla-kampita-Gaṇapati-bhu(bhū)-senāpati-gaja-vāji-samāja-Rājarāja-tanu-jāṅgaja-

2 sya Marīcī(ci)-Parāśar-ācāra-vicāra-catura-Vīra-Narakesari-dharādhipasya āpan-namra-paripanthi-pṛthvīpati-kirī-

3 ṭa-koṭi-maṇi-ghṛṇi-śreṇibhihir = aruṇita-pada-sarojasya sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka-caturtha-samvatsare[1] śaśi-ka-

4 la(lā)śekhara-śiraḥ-srotasvatī-nīra-sodara[2]-nirmala-cetasā saṁsāra-sāgar-ottāra-taraṇi-pratima-Vyomakeśa-

5 pada-kuśeśaya-sevā-mukharīkṛta-mānasena Kāyastha-kula-kamalinī-kumudava(ba)ndhunā deva-dvijendra-caraṇ-āmvu(mbu)-

6 ja-kānan-aikahaṁsa-svavavaś-ottansena[3] Kālasīka-Manomānasena[4] bhagavataḥ sānanda-vṛndāraka-vṛnda-vandita-pād-āra-

7 vindasya Kīrttivāsya[5] Sī(Si)ddha-Lamvo(mbo)darasya ca avyavakrama[6]-pañcadaśa-surabhi-kusumakeṣu[7] triṁśat-sampadyamāna-pu(pū)jā[8]-dadhi-

8 ghṛta-vyañjana-sahita-manohitāya[9] prati-śaradi puṣparāja-nīlotpala-lakṣāya tāmvu(mbu)lāya ca Kalamvo(mbo)ra-viṣaya-madhya-

9 pāti-Citrāgrāme Gaḍisagopagrāme ca pañca-mān-ādhika-bhu-(bhū)mi-vāṭikā(ḥ*) pañc = ādāpayata iti śaṁ[10] (||*)

2. *Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of Śaka 1165 and Aṅka Year 5*

My transcript of this inscription published in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 122 was full of errors. I am now publishing a revised text on the basis of a better impression of the epigraph in the following lines.

In the *Indian Culture*, I found difficult to reconcile the Śaka and Aṅka dates of the inscription with the generally accepted beginning of the reign of Narasiṁha I, viz. 1238 A.D. It now appears to me that the best way to solve the problem is to regard Śaka

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[1] Read *saṁvatsare.*

[2] This word has been used in its Oriya sense of *sadṛśa*, 'equal'.

[3] Read *sva-vaṁś-ottaṁsena.*

[4] *Manomānasa* is apparently the name of the person whose pious activity is the subject of the record. *Kālasīka* seems to mean that the said person was an inhabitant of a locality called Kalasī.

[5] The intended reading is *Kīrttivāsasya*, i.e. *Kṛtti°*.

[6] Better avoid *Sandhi* and read *a-vyavakrameṇa*,

[7] Read *kusumakaḥi.*

[8] Better avoid *Sandhi* and read *pūjāyai.*

[9] This is the Sanskritized form of Oriya *maṇohi*, i.e. *naivedya.*

[10] Read *°ādadad = iti śam.*

11,65 (*śata-rudra-ṣaṣṭi-viśikha*) to be the current year and not the usual expired one.

TEXT

1 [*Siddham* symbol.]
Śākāvde(bde) śata-rudra-ṣaṣṭhi(ṣṭi)-viśikhe pañc-āṅka-rājy-odaye
ta[sya śrī*]-Narasiṁhadeva-nṛpater=yasya pratāp-āgnayaḥ (|*)
2 pratyarthi-kṣitibhṛd-van-ā[laya]-sadāvāsa(sā)ḥ su-sañcāriṇo
vi[śva*]g=viśva-tale jayanti sahṛdā[11] sv-ākrānta-ca[ṁ]ḍ-
ā[ṁ]śavaḥ || (*)[12]
3 — — — [13]kuḷa-devat=āsti caritaṁ yasy=ānamanya[ṁ][14] śriyaḥ
se — — [15]gṛhiṇī ∪— na[16] sadanaṁ dharmmo=pi yac-cetasi (|*)
4 so=nyaṁ kīrtti-pavitra-mūrttir=anagha-jyotiḥ praroha(ḥ*) śriya[ḥ*]
— — —[17]matir=epa(sha) dīpam=adadac=chrī-Kṛttivāsāya[18]saḥ||(2*)[19]
5 aṣṭānāṁ khalu māṭā(ḍhā)nāṅ=kalantara[20]-rasair=ayaṁ-(yam) |
vaṁś-ānu[kra*]mato='khaṇḍa-dīpa-dāt=āsya Kamva(mba)liḥ ||(3*)[21]

D. C. SIRCAR

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[11] The reading is clear; but there seems to be an error here.

[12] The metre of the stanza is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[13] The reading of the syllables is uncertain. May it be *n=āsty=eyaṁ*?

[14] The reading looks more like °*ānamanya-śriyaḥ*.

[15] The two syllables are totally lost.

[16] The reading seems to be *tatāna*.

[17] The reading may be *saṁsevā*°, of which the first syllable is damaged beyond recognition.

[18] Read *Kṛtti*°.

[19] The metre of the stanza is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[20] *Kalantara* is the Oriya modification of Sanskrit *kal-āntara* meaning 'interest'. The perpetual lamp dedicated by Kambali in favour of the god Kṛttivāsa (i.e. Śiva worshipped in his Liṅga form in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar) had to be maintained from the interest of the permanent endowment he created by depositing eight pieces of coin called Māḍha probably in the temple treasury.

[21] The metre of the stanza is *Anuṣṭubh*.

Is Kaṇāda an atheist

Indian Philosophical systems have not always received fair and unbiassed treatment at the hands of modern scholars. They very often ascribe queer hypotheses to the old philosophers and this is not unoften due to a fascination for originality sometimes bordering on a journalistic scoop. Let us take a concrete case to establish our point. The Nyāya system, though mainly epistemological, the Vaiśeṣika system is nevertheless comprehensive in its metaphysical speculations. God (i.e. an intelligent creator) and the attainment of the *summum bonum* of human life constitute the key-note of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system of thought. But some modern scholars[1] are inclined to believe that Kaṇāda, the propounder of the Vaiśeṣika system, was an atheist and God has been subsequently introduced in this system. This hypothesis rests upon weak logic from the very outset. The propounders of it have failed to show under which type of atheism Kaṇāda's attitude is to be subsumed. It may be either dogmatic or sceptical or critical. Thus they do not dive deep into the matter and take simply a superficial view of things. It has been maintained that God has no part to play in the Vaiśeṣika conception of the universe as enunciated by Kaṇāda, since Kaṇāda does not directly refer to God. This mere absence of the name of God does not guarantee a negative conclusion on a matter which forms the corner-stone of the Vaiśeṣika metaphysics. This much may be said in favour of the modern scholars that the author of the *Yuktidīpikā* (a commentary on the Śāṅkhyakārikā) endorses the same view that the *Sūtrakāra* does not believe in the existence of God since he is silent on the problem.[2] The opponents contend that the Vedas are said to be composed by the seers. Competent minds realised the eternal truths and laws and communicated them to us through the channels of the Vedic lore. Thus the authorship of the Vedas is attributed to the Perfect Souls of the Seers. The term *'tat'* in the famous Sūtra *"tad vacanādāmnāyasya prāmāṇyam"*[3] bears no reference to God. *Tat* here stands for *dharma* (duty) and not for God. The Vaiśesika-sūtras *"Samjñākarmatvasmad-viśiṣṭāṇām liṅgam"* (V.S. II.1.18) and *"pratyakṣa-pravṛttatvād samjñākarmaṇaḥ"* (V.S. II.1.19) have often been regarded as the proof of the existence of God. But those scholars find difficulty in accepting this view without any positive ground of such assumption.

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[1] "The *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras*...originally did not accept the existence of God"—Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 23.

[2] "ācāryeṇa tu noktam, tasmāt sūtrakāramate nāstiśvara" *Yuktidipikā*, p. 83.

We now address ourselves to an evaluation of the Vaiśeṣika standpoint of the physical order and its constitution which raise many intricate problems that can be solved only through the assumption of a transcendental eternal Being and thus try to examine how far the contention of modern scholars stands logical scrutiny.

The protagonists of the theory, that the Vaiśeṣika in its early stage was atheistic, endorse the view that *'tat'* in the above mentioned Sūtra refers to *dharma* as follows from the previous Sūtra—*"Yato'-bhyudayaniḥśreyasasiddhiḥ sa dharmaḥ."* (V.S. I.1.2). Thus the validity of the Vedas is contingent on its being the exposition of *dharma*.[4] But is it logically admissible ? The Vedas may reveal the path leading to welfare and Supreme Good (abhyudayaniḥśreyasa), but how do they entail the authority of the Vedas? It cannot be gainsaid that *dharma* is authoritative and as such the Vedas establish it, the validity of the Vedas is also irrefutable (*yaddhi vākyaṃ prāmāṇikam arthaṃ pratipādayati tat pramāṇameva*—Upaskāra on Sūtra 1. 1.3.). For wherefrom does the authoritativeness of *dharma* come? Unlike the Mīmāṃsakas, Kaṇāda does not believe in the uncreated nature of the Vedas. The self-validity of its truth is also contravened. Nowhere in the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra the author has subscribed to the thesis that the truth of the Vedas is also self-validated. The Vedas are an aggregate of sentences and hence they presuppose an intelligent author (*buddhi-pūrvā vākyakṛtirvede.* V.S. VI.1.1.).

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[3] *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra,* 1. 1. 3. Faddegon asserts that the Sūtra gives impression of being an insertion. Vide *Vaiśeṣika System*, p. 334.

[4] Saṁkaramiśra offers an alternative explanation in this way:—*dharmasya vacanād pratipādanādāmnāyasya vedasya prāmāṇyam*—vide Upaskāra on the sūtra. But Jayanārāyaṇa, in his Vivṛti, takes the term as exclusively referring to God.

It may, however, be contended that dharma or the path leading to the accomplishment of welfare and Supreme Good has been propounded by the Seers or *Ṛṣis.* Seers are the intelligent authors of the Vedas. But we are, here, confronted with two such alternatives which exclude a middle. Is that *ṛṣi* an *āpta puruṣa* or not? If he is not *āpta* or trustworthy, the contention of the opponent falls to the ground. Who does care to pin his faith in the utterances of a person not infallible? The direction of the Vedas is unhesitatingly followed by the men of light and leading. Therefore it is composed by an *āpta puruṣa.* He must have intuition of welfare and Supreme Good and the like supersensuous objects. Moreover, in Kaṇāda's opinion, the air (*vāyu*) is an object of inference and not of perception but the nomenclature is borrowed from the Vedas. Kaṇāda emphatically asserts that no ordinary person is competent enough to set up the convention of naming an invisible object.[5] Moreover, the person must have perceived all the objects in order to name them.[6] Ordinary persons cannot perceive the objects lying beyond the range of senses. Thus the person is distinguished from ourselves. He can be no less than an omniscient Being. Omniscience involves eternal knowledge[7] Cognition of past, present and future must coincide in an omniscient person, otherwise his omniscience falls to the ground. Śrīdhara, however, quotes "*asmad viśiṣṭasya liṅgaṃ ṛṣeḥ*" as the concluding sūtra of Kaṇāda which is conspicuous by its absence in the present editions of the Kaṇāda-Sūtra. *Ṛṣi* means the revealer of eternal truths contained in the Vedas (*ṛṣayo mantradraṣṭāraḥ*). Thus as soon as Kaṇāda disowns the eternal nature of the Vedas and takes them to be the compositions of an intelligent being, he must have to confess that the intelligent speaker of the Vedas can be no other than an omniscient Being.

Again Kaṇāda seeks to explain the origin of the universe as due to the combination of atoms which are reals and eternal. This atomistic pluralism of Kaṇāda presupposes the existence of a Prime Mover in the Aristotelian sense of the term. Motion in gross body is due to the motion in the atoms. Cosmic rest (*pralaya*) is over and creative motion is produced in the atoms. The opponent sets out to demonstrate that Kaṇāda traces this primal activity in the atoms to the operation of an unseen moral force, viz., *adṛṣṭa*[8]. Variety in the gross body can be traced to this guiding principle of personal destiny. But this explanation does not satisfy a critical realist. The principle of *adṛṣṭa* is, by itself, unconscious and thus cannot be the guiding principle of this supreme design. *Adṛṣṭa* must be guided by an intelligent agent for its materialisation. *Adṛṣṭa* itself, cannot be conscious since it is a quality. No quality possesses a quality. A quality resides in substance only. Thus *adṛṣṭa* remains ever unconscious. But an action presupposes a conscious guide. Thus atoms are only moved by some conscious agent. Hence the lacunæ in Kaṇāda's system can only be filled up by such a postulation. Otherwise *Svabhāvavāda* should be thrust upon Kaṇāda's system. This view of Nature vitiates his fundamental assumption.[9]

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[5] *VS.*, II.1.18

[6] *VS.*, II.1.19

[7] Vide *Kusumāñjali*, Chap. III

Next the question arises, if Kaṇāda does not deny existence to God, why has he not expressly adverted to the problem? In reply to this contention of the opponent it may be stated that the Nyāyasūtra of Gautama unambiguously mentions God and the Vaiśeṣika shares the same view in many fundamental issues, because both the parties belong to the same school. One merely supplements the other. As Gautama has paid special attention to this problem, Kaṇāda may pass over it assuming the conclusion of the sister-school, the Nyāya.

Again he has never directly confuted the theistic thesis. If he does not hold discussion on this issue, negative conclusion (i.e. he denies existence to God) does not necessarily follow. It is also very difficult to account for the deliberate and studious avoidance of the supreme problem on the hypothesis that Kaṇāda's attitude was either atheistic or antitheistic. Kaṇāda never speaks of *Jīva*, would it therefore be justified to think that *Jīva* has no place in his scholium? Moreover, the trend of discussion goes to show that the assumption of God is a metaphysical necessity. It has not been imposed upon Kaṇāda's work by the ingenuity of the later commentators. If we do not subscribe to the hypothesis that Kaṇāda is a theist, there is no end of difficulties. Thus Kaṇāda's atheism has been set forth as a conceptual figment of later scholasticism.

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[8] *VS.*, V. 2.13 "...*aṇūnāṃ manasaścādyaṃ karmādṛṣṭakāritam*". Vide Sūtras IV. 2. 7; V. 1. 15; V. 2, 7; V. 2. 17; VI. 2. 2, 12.

[9] Cf. *VS.*, 1. 2. 1. "*kāraṇābhāvād kāryābhāvaḥ*".

Śaṁkara[10] also avers that the Vaiśeṣika believes in God as the efficient cause of the world. Although he criticises the Vaiśeṣika theory along with other theories which do not assert God to be the material cause, he does not criticise the Vaiśeṣika on the ground of his denial of God which he would have done if atheism had been an accepted principle of the school. Besides an abrupt introduction of the topic of God by Praśastapāda and the subsequent philosophers of the school would be an unwarranted and irrelevant interpolation—a position which cannot be accepted to be a true estimate. The argument of the *Yuktidīpikā* is almost based upon the silence of the author, and an *argumentum ex silentio* cannot be regarded as a strong and convincing proof. The entire tradition in this school is against this supposition and Kaṇāda's text cannot be supposed to lend countenance to the atheistic interpretation without recourse to violence of the accredited canons of exegesis.

It is painful to observe that the Vaiśeṣika position has received unfair treatment at the hands of Keith and others. Keith supposes[11] that the Vedānta Sūtra II.2.12 (*ubhayathāpi na karmatas tadabhāvaḥ*) and also Śaṁkara's commentary thereon imply the denial of God in the Vaiśeṣika system and he makes Śaṁkarācārya a party to this charge. Unfortunately Śaṁkara's commentary on the Sūtra II.2.27 (*patyurasāmañjasyāt*) escaped his notice where the scholiast expressly asserts the Vaiśeṣika to be a theist.[12] We have already drawn attention to this text and it is certain that Śaṁkarācārya's support cannot be enlisted by modern exponents of an atheistic Vaiśeṣika Philosophy.*

Gopikamohan Bhattacharya

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[10] Śāṁkara Bhāṣya on Sūtra, II. 2. 37.

[11] Keith, *Indian Logic & Atomism*, pp. 265-66.

[12] *Vaiśeṣikādayo'pi kecit kathañcit svaprakriyānusareṇa nimittakāraṇa-mīśvara iti varṇayanti* Śāṅkara-bhāṣya on Sūtra II. 2. 37.

*Read at the 17th Session, All India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad, 1953

REVIEWS

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA by Bimala Churn Law, 354 pp. with three maps (Published by Société Asiatique de Paris). 1954.

Dr. B. C. Law has removed a long-felt desideratum by publishing his work on the Geography of Ancient India. The last reliable works so far published were Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India with notes of S.N. Majumder and Nandolal Dey's Geographical Dictionary containing a mass of geographical information. Since then, no attempt has been made by any scholar to compile an ancient geography of India, arduous as the task is. The work under review evinces the thoroughness with which the works of Dr. Law are marked, and also a great amount of energy and patience to make the geographical information exhaustive. By far the best portion of his book is the 'Introduction' in which he has surveyed critically the sources of geographical information, ancient divisions of India, mountains and river systems including the mountain caves, lakes and forests. He has divided his book into five sections, viz., northern, southern, eastern, western and central, the extent and boundaries of which have been indicated by him at p. 15, following as far as possible the traditional line. In each section, all the geographical names have been listed alphabetically (English) and under each name, he has compressed within a small compass the information available from all sources from the Ṛgveda to the records of the Chinese pilgrims as also inscriptions of the 10th or 11th century a.c. Being a life-long student of Buddhist literature, he has not missed any information yielded by the Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit texts, and has done full justice to the Jaina literature, the Epics and the Purāṇas, besides the other well-known ancient texts of India. What enhances the value of his book over those of N. L. Dey and Cunningham is that he has been able to utilise the results of researches carried on during the last half a century, based on archaeological excavations and decipherment of inscriptions. To a student of Buddhism, it is almost a *vade mecum*, as it contains materials which are of historical, religious and literary interest.

The author at times has to rely on traditions only ... the absence of archaeological evidences for proper identification, or to leave them as unidentifiable. Still these are useful inasmuch as in course of time these may be identified with the help of evidences that may be forthcoming. The book contains three maps, which would have been more useful if they had been given in an enlarged form. The title of the book is not quite happy, as it is more or less a geographical dictionary (in five sectors) of ancient India—the title chosen by N. L. Dey of revered memory in his pioneering work.

The book will be valuable to all interested in ancient Indian culture, and specially to the young students, who will however deplore the extremely condensed nature of information under each geographical name. It will certainly be useful to research scholars, who will have the time and capacity to hunt up the numerous references and collect the required information.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. XXXV, pts. I—IV

B. C. LAW.—*King Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon.* Parākramabāhu was a Ceylonese king of light and learning. Ruling for 33 years from 1153 A.C., he marked his reign with great planning and architectural activities by erecting halls and palaces, building temples and monasteries, laying down gardens and towns, and digging tanks and canals.

SURYA KANTA.—*Tantric Dīkṣā.* Detailed rites and procedure followed by a Śākta in his initiation ceremony (Dīkṣā) have been described.

V. V. MIRASHI.—*Muria Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa I.* This short inscription found at Muria on the Jabalpur-Sagar Road in Madhya Pradesh records some meritorious deeds (kīrti) of one Bhaṭṭikaradeva who is said to have been a feudatory or an official of Śaṅkaragaṇa. Śaṅkaragaṇa mentioned here is identified with the Kalacuri king of the same name, whose stone inscriptions were discovered earlier near the same region at Sagar and Chhoti Deori. The king flourished in the 8th century A.C.

—.—*Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa III.* This inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa III, a Kalacuri king of Tripuri reigning in the second half of the 10th century states that the king obtained victory over a Gurjara king. The defeated adversary is surmised to have been king Vijayapāla of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj.

J. C. TAVADIA.—*The Meaning of Ṛta.* The significance of the word *ṛta*, taken variously as connoting right conduct, moral act, justice and truth, is discussed here with a view to arriving at the exact shade of the meaning in which the term has been used in the Veda.

P. K. GODE.—*Vāstuśiromaṇi, a Work of Architecture by Śaṅkara, the Guru of Syāmasāha, Son of Mānanareadra—after c. A.D. 1550.* The description is based on a manuscript of the work.

V. B. MISHRA.—*Who were the Gurjara-Pratīhāras?* The Gurjara-Pratīhāras were so called because their progenitor is believed to have sometimes acted as a doorkeeper.

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Cultural Importance of Sanskrit Literature preserved in Tibet.* Thousands of Sanskrit works in Tibetan translation as also a few hundred in Sanskrit original are now pereserved in Tibet. Some of these works, not yet discovered in India, are of considerable value to the students of ancient Indian history and culture.

LOKESH CHANDRA.—*Brāhmaṇica.* Various corrections are suggested in the Brāhmaṇa texts constituted by Caland in his *Das Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl.*

G. K. BHAT.—*The Problem of the Mahābhārata Plays of Bhāsa.* The writer of the paper does not believe, on aesthetic and critical grounds, that the five Mahābhārata plays of Bhāsa are detached single acts from a lengthy dramatised version of the complete Mahābhārata saga not yet discovered. Bhāsa's one-act Epic-plays are, it is asserted, complete in themselves.

RADHA KRISHNA CHAUDHARY.—*The Karṇāṭas of Mithilā.* The paper deals with the reigns of the different members of the Karṇāṭa dynasty that ruled over Mithilā for more than 150 years beginning from about 1197 A.C.

R. D. KARMARKAR.—*The Dramatic Terms. Praveśaka* and *Viṣkambhaka*, and *Janāntika* and *Apavārita* are the four technical terms of Sanskrit dramaturgy discussed here.

SWAMI KUVALAYANANDA and S. A. SHUKLA.—*The Gorakṣasataka: Its Original Text.* The conclusion reached by the writer is that the text of the yoga treatise known as *Gorakṣaśataka* originally 'consisted only of one hundred verses', and the printed *Gorakṣapaddhati* is an 'inflated edition' of the original work.

N. B. GADRE.—*Practical Utility of Research Literature like Volumes VI and VII of the Mānasāra Series.* The Sanskrit text of the *Mānasāra* abounding in Engineering terminology may now be utilised with advantage in the making of technical terms for the modern Indian languages.

P. S. SASTRI.—*Aesthetic Emotion.* The paper scrutinises the part played by emotion in the development of literary *rasa*.

RONALD M. SMITH.—*Birth of Thought*—III. Transmigration and God form the subject matter of the present instalment of this continued discourse on the evolution of the principal philosophical ideas.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, vol. XL, pt. 2

D. C. SIRCAR.—*Some Unpublished Inscriptions.* From among the impressions of epigraphic records preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund, one inscription from Rajghat, one inscription of the time of the slave Sultans of Delhi, and three inscriptions of the Śaka Satraps of Western India have been described.

RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY.—*The Oinwāras of Mithilā.* The Oinwāras ruled over Mithilā for more than hundred years from the second quarter of the 14th century. An account of their reign mainly gathered from the *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati has been given in the paper.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR.—*A Seventeenth Century Hindu Merchant and Broker of Balasore.*

MADAN MOHAN SINGH.—*Life in Buddhist Monastery during the 6th Centery B. C.* The subject-matter of the paper has been discussed under the following heads: homeless life before the birth of Buddha, ascetic orders during the days of Buddha and the coming into existence of the monasteries, admission into the order, teacher who admitted, ordinations, method of conferring the ordinations, the Upajjhāya (spiritual teacher), and the Saddhivihārika (novice), seniority and etiquette, later developments, mutual relations, blacksliding and reverting to worldly life, semi-monastic life, dress and ornaments, foot-coverings, robes, number of robes, distribution of robes, ornaments and decoration of persons, food, the Bhikṣuṇīs, why women were eager to go to join the Order, administration, offices of the Saṅgha.

RAMCHARITRA SINGH.—*Homeland of the Aryans.* According to the writer, the word *ārya* originally meant an agriculturist. He believes that the four main races obtained their characteristics in India,—the White and the Mongol races in north India, and the Negroids and Australoids in south India. Bands of these people migrated subseqently from India to other countries.

PRIYATOSH BANERJEE.--*A Note on the Antiquity of the Liṅga worship in India.* The Liṅga-worship, according to the writer, came to be associated with Neo-Brāhmaṇism and the Neo-Brāhmaṇic Śiva cult much earlier than the 2nd century B. C.'

B. P. SINHA.—*The Kauṭilīyan State and a Welfare State.* The purpose of the paper is to show that the State envisaged in the *Arthśāstra* of Kauṭilya was to engage itself in the promotion of the welfare and happiness of the people.

Ibid., vol. XL, pt, 4

HASAN ASKARI.—*Indo-Persian Relation in the Age of the Great Mughals.* The sectarian antagonism between the Sunnis and the Shias had sometimes its effects on the political relations of the Mughals of India and the Safavids of Persia.

BHAGWATI SARAN VARMA.—*A Unique Image of Sūrya.* In the temple of Chhoti Patan Devī at Patna there is a stone figure of Sūrya unattended by any female deity like Uṣā, and unaccompanied by the usual horses driving the one-wheeled chariot of Sūrya. The image is unique inasmach as the sword is depicted lying in its right side.

KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA.—*Bhagirathpur Excavations and a 15th Century Inscription.* The excavations at Bhagirathpur under P. S. Madhubani in Darbhanga have so far yielded building structures, bones and horns, broken stone slabs and a Sanskrit inscription in Maithili script. The inscription dated L.S. 394 or 304 (=1513 or 1423 A. C.) records the erection of a temple by the daughter-in-law of king Harinārāyaṇa, the wife of king Rāma.

VISHNU LAL SHASTRI.—*Study of a newly discovered Manuscript and Two Grants.* Here is described a manuscript of the work called *Vākcāturyataraṅgiṇī* which was composed by Ghanānanda Dāsa in the Śaka year 1680 for his younger brother Nityānanda with a view to imparting him knowledge of the Arabic and Persian words through the medium of Sanskrit. Copies of two grants published here record gifts of two villages of South Bhagalpur. The villages were donated by Mahāraja Narendra Siṃha in the 17th century.

SACHCHIDANANDA.—*The Morung and the Dhumkuria: A Study in Contrast.* The Morung is both a guard house and club house playing an important part in the social life of a Naga village. The Dhumkuria is a seminary for communicating instructions among the Oraons. The Naga Morung and the Oraon Dhumkuria both possess features of the youth dormitories and the community houses. The differences in their scope and function are discussed.

T. P. BHATTACHARYA.—*The Cult of Brahmā.* The word *rātri* meaning originally 'the forsaken body or limbs of Brahmā, which he gave up after creation, came to be used in the sense of elements. 'Those who regarded creation as the result of five elements or *rātras* were probably called *Pañcarātrins'*. The Pañcarātra order of the Vaiṣṇavas therefore had its origin in the cult of Brahmā.

SUBHADRA JHA.—*Introduction to the Studies in the Paippalāda.* The Paippalāda and the Śaunaka Recensions of the *Atharvaveda* are compared and their divergence pointed out. Chronologically, the Paippalāda version is sought to be assigned a later date.

HARI KISHORE PRASAD.—*An Interesting Figure of Trivikrama-Viṣṇu from Sāran.* The special feature of this Viṣṇu image lies in the fact that it has two *Āyudhapuruṣas* standing near the right and the left side of his legs, and holding a conch-shell and a disc respectively. All the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are also sculptured on the stele and the pedestal of the main figure.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR.—*Two Years of the Cotton Industry and Trade of Gujarat (1622-23).*

Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, vols. XXIV, XXV

V. S. AGRAWALA.—*Catalogue of the Mathura Museum.* Architectural pieces, terracotas and inscriptions have been described in this instalment of the catalogue of antiquities collected in the Mathura Museum.

MOTI CHANDRA.—*Technical Arts in Ancient India.* Different works of Vedic, Buddhist and classical literature containing lists of professions, mention of professional guilds, references to technical sciences give an idea of the arts and crafts of ancient India.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Four New Yakṣa Statues.* Four images of Yakṣa, one each in Bombay, Palwal and Rajghat, and another in the Mathura Museum have been described here.

— .—*A New Yakṣī Image from Mehrauli.*

K. D. BAJPAI.—*A New Yakṣa Image from Ahichchhatra.*

S. C. UPADHYAYA.—*Devalī Copper-plates of Govindarāja dated Valabhī Saṃvat 500 (=819-20 A.C.).* The Sanskrit inscription in these copper-plates recording the donation of a field in Gohilwād in Saurāṣṭra is the first epigraphical evidence which testifies that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Gujarat Branch extended their rule up to the South-East portion of Saurāṣṭra.

V. S. AGRAWALA.—*A Samudramanthana Sculpture from Hardwar.*

VISHWAMBHAR SHARAN PATHAK.—*The Early Vaiṣṇava Pantheon.* The Vaiṣṇava movement in ancient times is believed to have advanced a great step forward with the identification of the Vedic Viṣṇu, the later Nārayaṇa and the still later Vāsudeva. These three were at the early period the constituents of the Vaiṣṇava Pantheon, forming along with their associates three groups viz. (i) Viṣṇu and Satya-pañcaka, (ii) Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṃha, Varāha and Kapila and (iii) Vāsudeva in Vyūha.

D. C. SIRCAR.—*Kalacuri Sāhasika of Tripurī.* A passage in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* suggests that the Kalacuri king Sāhasika of Tripurī offered his kingdom to an ascetic Vāmadeva. This Sāhasika is identified with king Gāṅgeya of the Kalacuri line of Tripurī, who died in 1041 A.C.

NILKANTHA PURUSHOTTAM JOSHI.—विनयपिटक के आधार पर भारतीय भौतिक जीवनकी झलक (*The State of Material Progress in India as Reflected in the Vinaya Piṭaka*).

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9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.**

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D. C. Sircar.—*Kalacuri Sāhasāṅka of Tripurī.* A passage in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* suggests that the Kalacuri king Sāhasāṅka of Tripurī offered his kingdom to the Vikramāditya. This Sāhasāṅka is identified with king Gāṅgeya of the Kalacuris of Tripurī who died in about 1041 A.C.

Nilakantha Purushottam Joshi.—*Significance of [illegible] from [illegible] shown in [illegible] Progress in India as Reflected in the [illegible].*

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The Indragaḍh Stone Inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Ṇaṇṇa

This inscription has recently been discovered at Indragaḍh near Bhānpurā, about 13 miles from the station Jhālāwār Road on the main line of the Western Railway. A preliminary notice of the record by Dr. H. V. Trivedi has appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXX, pp. 193 f. Another account of it together with a full transcript and Hindi translation by Mr. V. S. Vakankar has also been published in the newspaper *Madhya Bharat Sandesh*, dated the 15th August 1954, a copy of which has kindly been sent to me by the author. On reading these articles my curiosity was aroused as an attempt has been made in them to connect the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Madhya Pradesh with that ruling in Madhya Bharat. I, therefore, propose to examine this question at some length here.

The inscription records the construction of a temple of Śiva by the Pāśupata Ācārya Dānarāśi during the reign of a king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty whose name has been read as Ṇaṇṇa by Trivedi[1] and as Ṇaṇṇappa by Vakankar[2]. His father's name also has been read differently by these scholars viz. as Bhāsvāna by Trivedi and as Bhāmāna by Vakankar. As no facsimile of the record has yet been published, it is not possible to check these readings, but *prima facie* Bhāmana appears to be more probable than Bhāsvāna as it occurs more than once in the Kahla plates[3] of Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, while Bhāsvāna is at least not so well known. Ṇaṇṇa and Ṇaṇṇappa are not very different though the latter name would perhaps indicate that the family came from the south. So we may take it that the inscription was put up during the reign of Ṇaṇṇa, the son of Bhāmāna of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage. It is dated in the year 767 of the Mālava kings, *i.e.* in the Vikrama year 767 or A.D. 711-12.

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[1] भास्वानस्य प्रसूतिः प्रकटितयशसो राष्ट्रकूटान्वयस्य
श्रीणण्णाख्यः स राजा जयति निजगुणैरञ्जिताशेषलोकः ॥

[2] He reads भामानस्य for भास्वानस्य, and श्रीणण्णप्पः for श्रीणण्णाख्यः

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, pp. 85 f.

Both Trivedi and Vakankar have tried to identify this king with the homonymous prince whose genealogy is given as under in the Tivarkheḍ[4] and Multāi[5] plates—

Durgarāja
|
(son)
Govindarāja
|
(son)
Svāmikarāja
|
(son)
Nannarāja

The date V. 767 (A.D. 711) of this record lends colour to this identification; for it is only two years later than the date Śaka 631 (A.D. 709) of the Multāi plates.[6] The difference in the names of the fathers of these two rulers, viz. Bhāmāna in the Indragaḍh inscription and Svāmikarāja in the Multāi plates, however, presents a difficulty. Trivedi has passed over it in silence, while Vakankar has tried to explain it away by supposing that Bhāmāna may have been another name of Śvāmikarāja. The explanation is hardly convincing; for there is no basis for such a conjecture. Identifying these two rulers viz. Ṇaṇṇa of the Indragaḍh inscription and Ṇaṇṇa of the Multāi plates, these two scholars have concluded that the empire of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Madhya Pradesh extended beyond Indragaḍh in Madhya Bharat in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. From the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant which has been referred to the seventh century A.D. it has been conjectured that a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king named Abhimanyu was ruling on the Mhow-Hoshangabad region with his capital at Mānpur which lies about half-way between Acalapur and Indragaḍh. As his kingdom lay immediately to the north of that of Naṇṇa in Berar, Trivedi presumes that either the Mānapura house came to an end before the Indragaḍh record was engraved or it may have been completely overthrown by Ṇaṇṇa. This has also been conjectured by Vakankar.

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[4] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, pp. 476 f.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 230 f.

[6] The Tivarkheḍ plates are dated in Śaka 563 and the Multāi plates in Śaka 631. There is thus a difference of 78 years between these two dates. Trivedi takes the date of the Tivarkheḍ plates to be Śaka 653. I have shown that the plates are spurious. See *IHQ.*, vol. XXV, pp. 138 f.

This is the second time that the theory of a large Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom existing before the rise of the later Imperial family descended from Dantivarman has been advanced. Ten years ago Dr. M. H. Krishna advanced the theory that before the rise of the Early Cālukyas of Badāmi there was a large Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire extending from the Mahānadī and the Tāpī in the north to the Bhīmā in the south in the sixth century A.D. Now we have a similar theory of another large Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. which extended from the Pūrṇā in the south to the Chambal in the north. The first theory was exploded by Dr. Altekar in his article published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXIV, pp. 148 f. He pointed out that in the sixth century A.D. there were other kings, not the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, ruling over the main parts of Mahārāṣṭra. In an article which was published shortly afterwards in the same journal,[7] I pointed out that Dr. Krishna's theory was based on the wrong identification of the Śarabhapurīya kings Mānamātra and Sudevarāja with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Mānāṅka and Devarāja. I agreed with Dr. Altekar that there was no extensive Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire in the Deccan in the sixth century A.D., but I pointed out

[7] *ABORI.*, vol. XXV, pp. 36 f. This article requires some corrections in the light of the recent discoveries. It is now proved that the Siroḍā plates belong to a king of the Bhoja dynasty. Again, from a subsequent study of the original plates of Mādhavavarman I have come to the conclusion that they belong to the well-known Viṣṇukuṇḍin king of that name. Further, as the Tivarkheḍ plates have now been proved to be spurious, the relation between the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families of Southern Mahārāṣṭra and Vidarbha conjectured in that article is not likely. With these modifications the conclusions in that article will appear to be correct.

from an examination of several copper-plate grants that in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. there did flourish in the Deccan a Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty descended from Mānāṅka, which ruled from Mānapura. I further showed that in view of the known find-spots of some copper-plate grants of this family, their capital Mānapura was probably identical with Māṇ in the Sātārā District of the Bombay State. This view has now been generally accepted.

Let us next proceed to examine the second theory of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom extending from the Pūrṇā in the south to the Chambal in the north in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The only arguments for such a theory are the identity of the names Ṇaṇṇa of the Multāi plates and Ṇaṇṇa (or Ṇaṇṇappa) of the Indragaḍh inscription and the proximity of the dates of the two records. As regards the identity of names, it may be pointed out that Ṇaṇṇa was a very common name in ancient times. From the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśīs of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, for instance, we know of three Ṇaṇṇas[8] who flourished in the same period viz. Tīvaradeva's father, his son and his son-in-law, all of whom bore the same name Ṇaṇṇa. So identity of names is no sure proof of identification. Besides, we must remember that the fathers of these two kings bore different names. The father of Naṇṇa ruling in Vidarbha was named Svāmikarāja, while that of Ṇaṇṇa of Indragaḍh was named Bhāmāna. We have no reason to suppose that these two names were borne by the same king. There is of course proximity in the dates of these kings, but that in itself is no convincing proof. We have no other evidence showing that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha extended their rule so far in North India. The rule of the Mānapura Rāṣṭrakūṭas was indeed no bar to such an extension; for their capital was not identical with Mānpur, 12 miles from Mhow, but with Māṇ in the Sātārā District. If the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha had extended their kingdom as far as the Chambal in the north, their supremacy must have been acknowledged by petty princes ruling in the neighbouring region. This is not however seen to be the case. We have two other inscriptions of this period from that region viz. the Jhālrāpāṭan inscription of Durgagaṇa[9], dated V. 746 and the Kaṇaśva inscription of Śivagaṇa[10], dated V. 795. In neither of these is any Rāṣṭrakūṭa king named. On the other hand, the latter inscription mentions the Maurya king Dhavala who may be identical with Dhavalappadeva mentioned with imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* etc. in the Dhod inscription of Dhanika[11]. That the Mauryas, not the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, were then supreme in that region is also evident from the mention, in the Navsāri plates dated K. 490[12], of the Maurya ruler among the kings vanquished by the Arabs in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. It is not unlikely that this petty Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Indragaḍh also acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mauryas of Mewal, though, as in some other inscriptions of that region[13], there is no specific reference to it.

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[8] The first and third Nannas are mentioned in the Balodā plates of Tivaradeva. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, pp. 102 f. That Tīvaradeva had also a son named Nanna has recently become known from a copperplate grant discovered in Chattisgadh.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha were a feudatory family which rose after the disappearance of the Vākāṭakas. They owned at first the suzerainty of the Kalacuris and, like them, used the Ābhīra (or Kalacuri) era in their grants. After the overthrow of the Kalacuris by Pulakeśin II, they transferred their allegiance to the Cālukyas of Badāmi and like them began to date their records in the Śaka era. Only three genuine grants of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas have been discovered so far. The earliest of them dated K. 322 (A.D. 573) was made by Svāmirāja[14] and the other two dated Ś. 615 and Ś. 631, by Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura[15]. All these have been found in ancient Vidarbha. Their power does not therefore seem to have extended beyond the confines of Vidarbha. After the downfall of the Cālukyas of Badāmi, Vidarbha was occupied by the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Several records of the early kings Kṛṣṇa I and Govinda III have been found in the Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh. The earlier Rāṣṭrakūṭas may have been allowed to rule over a small territory round Acalapura as feudatories of the Imperial family; for there are occasional references to them till the first half of the tenth century A.D.[16]

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[9] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, pp. 180 f.

[10] *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, pp. 55 f.

[11] *PRAS.*, WC., 1905-06, p. 61 and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 12.

[12] *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arian Section, p. 230.

[13] The Jhālrāpāṭan inscription of Durgagaṇa, for instance, makes no mention of any suzerain. The Kaṇaswa inscription mentions the Maurya king Dhavala only as a friend of the ruling king.

[14] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, pp. 1 f.

[15] The recently discovered Akolā plates are dated Ś. 615 and the Multāi plates, Ś. 631. The Tivarkheḍ plates dated Ś. 553 are spurious as stated before.

Like the Deshpandes and the Deshmukhs of modern times, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of ancient times were heads of territorial divisions. There must have been several families of this name flourishing in different parts of the country. They should not be considered as related to one another unless there is sufficient evidence to prove such a connection.

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[16] *IHQ.*, vol. XV, pp. 612 f. It is of course not unlikely that the Acalapura Rāṣṭrakūṭas were a branch of the Imperial family.

A note on the Māser Inscription of a Śulkī Chief[1]

This inscription was discovered by Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology of the former Gwalior State, at Māser, about 25 miles north of Bhilsā. It was briefly noticed by him in the *Annual Report of the Department for the year* 1930-31, p. 10. I deciphered the record from an excellent estampage which Mr. Garde placed at my disposal several years ago and utilised the relevant information in it for my article on the Bargaon Temple Inscription of Śabara, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXV, pp. 278 f. This inscription, fragmentary as it is, contains much valuable information and refers to several kings of Central India. It mentions *inter alia* that the Śulkī chief Narasiṃha initiated the wives of a Kalacuri king into widowhood at the command of a certain Kṛṣṇarāja. A king named Kṛṣṇa is also mentioned in the Bhilsā inscription of Vācaspati, discovered by Dr. F. E. Hall as far back as 1862. This inscription mentions a victory of Vācaspati, the chief minister of king Kṛṣṇa over a king of Cedi. The king Kṛṣṇa mentioned in these two records was identified by me with the Candella chief Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇapa, son of Yaśovarman and younger brother of Dhaṅga, who is mentioned in four out of six inscriptions discovered at Dudahī, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. As we have, for the Candella king Dhaṅga, dates ranging from A.D. 954 to A.D. 1002, Kṛṣṇa, his younger brother, may have flourished from *circa* A.D. 960 to A.D. 985.

Mr. Venkataramayya of Ootacamund has recently edited the Māser stone inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXIX, pp. 18f. He differs from me in the identification of king Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the Bhilsā and Māser inscriptions. He thinks that this Kṛṣṇa is the well-known Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. I have discussed elsewhere the identification of king Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the Bhilsā inscription. Here I propose to examine Mr. Venkataramayya's view regarding the identification of king Kṛṣṇa of the Māser inscription. Mr. Venkataramayya's argument may be stated as follows.

Narasiṃha who initiated the wives of a Kalacuri king into widowhood belonged to the Śulkī family, the progenitor of which rose from a drop of water which had fallen from the hands of the Creator Brahmā. A similar account is given in Bilhāri inscription about the progenitor of the Caulukya family in which the Kalacuri queen Nohalā was born. There the family is said to have descended from the warrior who had sprung from the handful of water which Bhāradvāja (Droṇa) had taken to curse Drupada[2]. Though these two stories of their origin differ in some particulars, it seems certain that both the families came from the same stock and were perhaps lineally connected. Now, Narasiṃha of the Śulkī family is described as the ruler of Viḍadvādaśa in the Māser inscription. This Viḍa-12 may be identical with Vīḍā which was one of the villages donated by the queen Nohalā to a temple of Śiva. Though this village cannot be definitely identified now, it must have been situated in the vicinity of Bilhāri. Narasiṃha was therefore holding a fief in the Kalacuri kingdom. He or his predecessor must have sought service under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in an earlier period of friendship and matrimonial alliances between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalacuris. Later, the relations of the two royal families became hostile. The Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva I is said to have come into conflict with the Karṇāṭas, who in this period could only be the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or their Cālukya vassals, the chiefs of Vemulvāḍa. The Karhāḍ plates tell us that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Kṛṣṇa III obtained a victory over Sahasrārjuna who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. This Sahasrārjuna has been identified with Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva I, the father-in-law of Baddiga-Amóghavarṣa III, the father of Kṛṣṇa III. Kṛṣṇarāja by whose order Narasiṃha fought with the Kalacuris must therefore be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III.

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[1] This article will soon apper in *JBBRAS*.

Mr. Venkataramayya's theory appears quite plausible, but on a close examination it discloses its weak points which I shall now proceed to state.

It is quite likely that the Śulkī family of Narasiṃha was identical with the Caulukya family in which the Kalacuri queen Nohalā was born In fact I have myself stated this in my article on the Śaiva Ācāryas of the Mattamayūra clan published four years ago.[3] Narasiṃha may have been a lineal descendant or a collateral of Avanivarman, the father of Nohalā. But this family was ruling not in the Cedi kingdom but somewhere in Central India. From the *varman* ending of the names Siṁhavarman and Avanivarman of Nohalā's ancestors, Kielhorn conjectured long ago that they may have been related to the king Avantivarman who invited the Śaiva Ācārya Purandara to establish a *maṭha* in his capital Mattamayūra[4] The Ācāryas of this *maṭha* erected temples and *maṭhas* at Ranod, Kadwāhā, Terahi etc. in the former Gwalior State. The king Avantivarman's capital Mattamayūra must have been situated somewhere in their vicinity. Several Ācāryas of the Mattamayūra clan were invited to the Cedi country by Yuvarājadeva I, and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja II, and munificent donations were made to them for the maintenance of the *maṭhas* and temples which they erected there. It appears quite plausible that these Śaiva Ācāryas were invited to the Cedi country at the instance of the Kalacuri queen Nohalā, who was probably born in the Caulukya family of Mattamayūra. After the rise of the Candella Yaśovarman in the neighbouring kingdom of Jejābhukti, the descendants of Avanivarman seem to have become their vassals. They had to content themselves with the small fief of Viḍadvādaśa and perhaps some territory round it. They fought the battles of their Candella suzerains. In one of these the Śulkī chief appears to have killed a Kalacuri king.

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[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 257.

[3] *IHQ.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 1 f.

Viḍa-12 is not likely to be identical with Vīḍā near Bilhāri; for (i) Vīḍā was a small village and not the chief town of a territorial division like Viḍa-12 and (ii) if it was the chief town of the fief held by Narasiṃha and his descendants, it is not likely to have been donated by the Kalacuri queen to a temple of Śiva.

I have ~~shown~~ shown elsewhere that the old view that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III defeated a Kalacuri king must now be given up. It was based on a wrong interpretation of verse 25 in the Karhāḍ plates. As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has shown, the verse only states by means of *double entendre* that Kṛṣṇa excelled Ṣahasrārjuna, the eponymous hero from whom the Kalacuris claimed descent. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalacuris were matrimonially connected for several generations. In this period also their relations appear to have been cordial; for Kṛṣṇa III's father Baddiga-Amoghavarṣa III, who was the Kalacuri king

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4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 353.

Yuvarājadeva I's son-in-law, was staying for a long time at the Kalacuri capital Tripurī, where he performed the marriage of his daughter Revakanimmaḍī with the Gaṅga prince Permādi-Būtuga. Again, Yuvarājadeva I helped Baddiga to regain the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne, as shown in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Elsewhere, I have adduced some new evidence to show that after securing the throne, Baddiga returned to the Kalacuri capital where he continued to stay while his son Kṛṣṇa III was consolidating his power and making new conquests.[5] If Narasiṃha was a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III, he is not likely to have fought with the Kalacuris and killed a Kalacuri king as suggested in the Māser inscription.

It is therefore more likely that Kṛṣṇarāja mentioned in the Māser inscription is the Candella prince Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇapa who was ruling over the Dudahī-Bhilsā region. The Candellas and the Kalacuris who ruled over contiguous territories were often at war with each other. The Candella king Yaśovarman is known to have defeated a Cedi king who can be none other than Yuvarājadeva I. His son Kṛṣṇa seems to have carried on the hostilities. I have shown elsewhere that Vācaspati who defeated a Cedi king in battle was the chief minister of this very Kṛṣṇa. Narasiṃha, who was a valiant feudatory of Kṛṣṇa, fought with and killed in battle a Kalacuri king. As his Candella suzerain was ruling in the period *circa* A.D. 960-985, the Kalacuri king who succumbed to his attack was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa III, the son and successor of Lakṣmaṇarāja II (*circa* A.D. 945-970).

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[5] The Bilhāri inscription does not clearly state that Yuvarājadeva I defeated the Karṇāṭas. Verse 24 of that record no doubt, describes that Yuvarājadeva enjoyed pleasures in the company of his Karṇāṭa wife or wives. If this implies a victory over the Karṇāṭas, it may refer to his defeat of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV and his allies in the battle of the Payoṣṇī as described in Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*.

Vaiṣṇavism*

The Eran Stone Pillar inscription† is an outstanding example of the devotional cult of Viṣṇu. This fact is corroborated by the statement that Mātṛviṣṇu was extremely devoted to God (Viṣṇu) (*atyanta-bhagavad-bhakta*). In the same record Viṣṇu has been called *Janārdana* who is said to have four arms. Probably this is one of the earliest inscriptional evidences of his having possessed four arms. We also find that the practice of setting up flag-staff (*dhvaja*) which we gather from the epigraphic record of the Greek ambassador Heliodoros at Besnagar as early as 2nd century B.C. is still continuing during the Gupta period. The family of Mātṛviṣṇu had for the past few generations been devoted to god Viṣṇu, as evidenced by the names of its members ending with the word *viṣṇu*. For instance, the great-grand father of Mātṛviṣṇu was (1) Indra-*viṣṇu* (2) grand-father, Varuṇa-*viṣṇu*, (3) father, *Hari-viṣṇu* and (4) brother, *Dhanya viṣṇu*. So it appears that the term *viṣṇu* became practically the surname of the family. The older members must have had great regard for god Viṣṇu; otherwise they would certainly not have glorified themselves by adding the word *viṣṇu* to their names.

In the reign of the king Budha Gupta while the provincial Governor Jayadatta was in charge of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti (or North Bengal) and *Ṣaṇḍaka* was posted at *Koṭivarṣa* (modern Bangarh in West Dinajpur District) as Āyuktaka or Administrative officer under him, the city merchant (Nagara-śreṣṭhin) Ṛbhupāla applied for some land to purchase in accordance with the prevalent practice of land-sale for establishing a *liṅga* and building two temples one for each of the deities *Kokāmukhasvāmin* and *Śveta-varāhasvāmin* with two sorrounding walls or store-rooms (cf.[51] *tayor-ādya-kokāmukha-svāmi-śveta-varāha-svāminor-nāma-liṅgam-ekaṁ deva-kula-dvayametat-koṣṭikā-dvayaṁ-ca kārayitum-icchāmi.*) Here we find that *Kokāmukha-svāmin* was very probably the name of *Śiva*, Kokāmukhā being the name of Durgā, and Śvetavarāha appears to be a name of *Viṣṇu*, who became Varāha in one of his incarnations. The deity *Śvetavarāha* was in all probability the image of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. The *bhakti* cult attained sufficient importance at this time. The language of the inscription bears testimony to this (cf. *taduttara kālaṁ saṁ-vyavahāribhir-ddeva-bhaktyānumantavyāḥ*).

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* Continued from vol. XXX, No. 4, p. 373. †*Vide* vol. XXX, p. 373.

[51] Damodarpur Copperplate Inscription of the time of Budha Gupta, *Ep. Ind.*, XV p. 138f.

In the Gunaighar (Dt. Tippera) copper plate inscription of Vainya Gupta, G.E. 188 (507-8 A.D.) it has been incidentally mentioned in connection with the defining of the boundary that the land belonging to the deity *Pradyumneśvara* is to the east and the west. Pradyumneśvara, as the name appears, is supposed to be an image of god Viṣṇu. We also learn from his Deopara inscription that during the reign of King Vijayasena of Bengal, there was a temple named Pradyumneśvara in which both Viṣṇu and Śiva were worshipped together with their consorts Lakṣmī and Pārvatī in between the two gods.

The aforesaid Gunaighar inscription is very important and interesting for the purpose of the study of the religious history of Bengal at the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

In the Dāmodarpur (Dt. Dinajpur) copper plate inscription of the Gupta year[52] 224 (543-44 A.D.), it is mentioned that a Kulaputra named *Amṛtadeva* from *Ayodhyā* (near modern Faizabad in U.P.) applied to the administrative officer of the district of *Koṭivarṣa* in Puṇḍravardhana bhukti for a small plot of uncultivated fallow land at three *dīnāras* a Kulyavāpa to donate for the repair works of the damaged parts of the temple of *Śvetavarāha*, situated in the forest region as also for supplying oblation, rice boiled in milk, food, milk, incense, flower, clarified butter etc. to the temple for the purpose of religious merit of his mother.

It is worthy of note here that a man coming from Ayodhyā in U.P. makes gift of land to the temple of *Śvetavarāha* in North Bengal. It appears that the deity became famous throughout Northern India, and people used to come there for pilgrimage and make gift of land to the temple for its preservation as well as for the worship and maintenance of the god Śvetavarāha. The inscription is undoubtedly a Vaiṣṇava record.

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[52] *Ep. Ind.*, XV p. 142 f. ; *ibid.*, XVII. p. 193 f.

That Bengal was a stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism is also confirmed by the Susunia rock inscription of Mahārāja Śrī Candra Varman, son of Mahārāja Siṁha Varman, ruler of Puṣkaraṇa in modern Bankura district of Bengal. Here Mahārāja Candra Varman who called himself as the foremost of the servants of Cakrasvāmin (*cakrasvāminaḥ dāsāgreṇātisṛṣṭaḥ*) dedicated his work (*kṛti*), that is, the cave in the Susunia hill to Viṣṇu—the wielder of discus (*cakrasvāmīn*). This is a Vaiṣṇava inscription, Viṣṇu being mentioned as Cakrasvāmin. Candra Varman of this inscription has been identified with one of the kings of Āryāvarta bearing the same name in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta, who is stated to have uprooted those kings from their respective territories. If this identification is held to be correct then it appears that the King of West Bengal or at least some of the local rulers were devotees of Vaiṣṇavism in the early part of the 4th century A.D. It is beyond doubt that the cult of Viṣṇu made a strong appeal to the Imperial House of the Guptas as well as to some other independent rulers of West Bengal.

Besides the ruling families professing Vaiṣṇavism the common people of the country also adopted the same faith. We learn from the Baigram copper plate[53] of the Bogra District of Bengal (now in E. Pakistan), of the year 128 (=447-48 A.D.) evidently of the reign of Emperor Kumāra Gupta I, that the administrative officer (Kumārāmātya) Kulavṛddhi from the district town of Pañcanagarī informed the Brāhmaṇas and other important persons of the villages *Trivṛtā* and *Śrīgohālī* which were within the jurisdiction of Bāyigrāma (modern Baigram in Bogra District) that Śivanandin, father of two inhabitants named *Bhoyila* and *Bhāskara* of these villages built a temple of god *Govindasvāmin*. But as this shrine had very little income [*Śiva-nandinā kāri*[*ta*]*kaṁ bhagavato Govindasvāminaḥ devakulas-*(*aṁ*)*tad-asāvalpa-vṛttikaḥ* (*aṁ*)] these two persons, Bhoyila and Bhāskara applied for some uncultivated fallow land as well as some homestead land for the purpose of gift to the temple of *Govindasvāmin* in order to meet the necessary expenses of the repair of the buildings and the supply of sandal, incense, lamp and flower to the deity. It is further stated by the administrative officer that this grant of land at a concession rate to the purchasers would bring a share of one sixth part of the religious merit to the king.

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[53] *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. p. 81 f.

It shows that Vaiṣṇavism penetrated into the masses of Bengal by the middle of the 5th century A.D. and temples of Viṣṇu under various names were built at different places of this province. We have seen before that it extended its influence over West Bengal in the 4th century A.D., and now we find that by the middle of the 5th century it spread among the common populace of North Bengal (particularly Bogra District).

In some parts of East Bengal, viz., Faridpur district, the influence of Vaiṣṇavism was perceptible even in personal names. Thus "Gopāla" the first part of the name *Gopālasvāmin* mentioned in the Faridpur copper plate of the time of Dharmāḍitya[54] was very likely connected with the first propounder of the *Vaiṣṇavite* faith. Palaeographically this inscription belongs roughly to the 6th century A.D. by which time south-eastern Bengal had already become familiar with the cult of Viṣṇu, so much so that the personal names were chosen from those of Lord Viṣṇu. This influence was felt also in the *Burdwan* district of West Bengal in the 6th century A.D. as we find in the Mallasarul copper plate of Śrī Gopacandra (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII. p. 159f) that the name *Hari*, which is purely a Vaiṣṇava name, is mentioned several times.

In the eastern part of Central India also as we learn from the Khoh copper plate grant[55] of Mahārāja Śarvanātha of the year 193 (=513 A.D.?), (this inscription was issued by him on agreement with the donees—Viṣṇunandin, trader Śaktināga, son of Svāmināga, Kumāranāga and Skandanāga) that the village Āśramaka, which was given as a donation should be utilised for the purpose of a shrine of Viṣṇu described as *Bhagavat* or *Divine one* and also for a shrine most probably of the god Āditya or *Sun god*. The gift was meant for the repair of the temples of the two deities and also for the supply of *bali*, *caru*, *satra*, *sandal*, *incense*, *garland* and *lamp*.

From the inscription it appears that the grantees built two shrines—one of the Vaiṣṇava and the other of the Solar cul and then they perhaps applied to the king for some state grant which was acceded to in the shape of gift of the village *Āśramaka* on the condition mentioned above.

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[54] *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX p. 200 f.

[55] Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 126 f.

The seal attached to the plates bears in relief the figure of *Garuḍa* the bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu. This also lends additional support to the inscription that it belongs to the Vaiṣṇava cult. In the Khoh inscription of Jayanāth of the year 177[56] (496-97 A.D.), we find that the inscribed plates were issued by Mahārāja Jayanātha to record the grant to some Brāhmaṇas, Sarva-vāḍha of *Śāśātaneya* (? gotra) and his son Bhāgavata-Gaṅga, his sons Raṅka Boṭa and Ajagara-dāsa of the village Dhavaṣaṇḍikā as an *agrahāra* for increasing the religious merit of the king as also for the repair of the temple of god Viṣṇu referred to as Bhagavat and also for the supply of *bali*, *caru*, *satra* etc. So it is clear that a temple of god Viṣṇu was existing at the place which is at present known as Khoh in the Nagaudh State (C. I.) towards the close of the 5th century A. D. It shows that his worship was popular in this part of the country at that time.

In another Khoh incription of Mahārāja Śarvanātha[57] the object of the grant is to record the gift of a half of the village of *Dhavaṣaṇḍikā* on condition that the income should be applied to the repair of the temple of goddess Piṣṭapurikādevī as also for arranging the *bali*, *caru*, *satra* etc. (*Bhagavatyāḥ Piṣṭapurikādevyāḥ khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa-pratisaṁskāra-karaṇāya, bali-caru-satra-pravartanāya cātisṛṣṭaḥ*).

Dr. Fleet thinks that this *Piṣṭapurikādevī* was a form of Lakṣmī, consort of Viṣṇu. So this inscription is a record of Vaiṣṇavism.

In the other Khoh grant of the same king of the year 214[58] (533-34 A. D.), Mahārāja Śarvanātha approves the transfer of two villages named *Vyāghrapallika* and *Kācarapallika* in the Maṇināgapeṭha to private grantees for the purpose of a temple of the goddess Piṣṭapurikādevī in the town of *Mānapura* (identified by some with modern Mānpur near the river Son) as also for the worship (*pūjā*) of the deity and repair of the temple. The grant was first made to one *Pulinda Bhaṭṭa* who transferred his right to *Kumārasvāmin* and his descendants for arranging worship of the goddess and repair of

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56 Fleet, *Corp. Ins., Ind.*, III, p. 121 f.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 129 f.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 135 f.

her temple in future. The transfer was formally approved by the king by this charter.

It appears that in Nagaudh State, C. I. the Vaiṣṇavite goddess Puṣṭapurikā was very popular both among the ruler as well as the common people. The deity and her temple had drawn devoted attention of the king and other people and proper steps were taken for the worship of the goddess and maintenance of her temple.

During the rule of the family of the Parivrājaka kings in Central India in and about the 6th century A.D. Vaiṣṇavism had a strong influence in their territory. Of this family Mahārāja *Hastin* was a famous and religious-minded king. He was a giver of thousands of cows, elephants, horses, gold and land. He was also devoted to gods, Brāhmaṇas, superiors and his parents. His son Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha was also famous for his religious activities. He was engaged in establishing the religious duties of the different castes (*varṇāśrama-dharmasthāpanā-niratena*) and was a great Bhāgavata (i.e. devotee of Viṣṇu) (*parama-bhāgavatena*) and extremely devoted to his parents (*atyanta-pitṛ-bhaktena*). He made gift of half the village of *Opāṇī* at *Maṇināga peṭha* for the supply of *bali*, *caru* and *satra* to the temple of goddess Piṣṭapurī (elsewhere mentioned as Piṣṭapurikā) and also for the repair of the temple. Our previous statement that the modern Nagaudh State was an important centre of the worship of goddess Piṣṭipurī or Piṣṭipurikā is also confirmed by the Khoh copper plate inscription of Saṁkṣobha of the year 209 (528-29 A. D.). The king was devoted to god Vāsudeva *Viṣṇu*. This fact is proved by the salutation to the god who has been taken here as Vāsudeva. (*Oṁ namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya*).

The quotation of the twelve-syllable Vaiṣṇavite creed formula in the above copper plate of Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha is really interesting and noteworthy. This is one of the very early records of the formula, if not the earliest, so far as the epigraphic evidences are concerned. (Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. p. 114).

In the western part of Central India, i. e., the Mandasor region of the modern Gwalior State also, Vaiṣṇavism played a very prominent part. In the Mandasor stone inscription[59] of the time of Naravarman of the Malava year 461 (A. D. 404), Viṣṇu has been described in adoration as having thousand heads and immeasurable soul remaining sleepy in the water of the four oceans.

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[59] Mandasor stone Inscription of the time of Naravarman. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 320f.

सहस्र-शिरसे तस्मै पुरुषायामितात्मने ।
चतुः समुद्र-पर्य्यङ्क-तोय-निद्रालवे नमः ॥

The idea of a thousand-headed god has very probably been taken from the *Ṛgveda* (cf *sahasra-śīrsā-puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt* etc.). In this epigraph, god Vāsudeva has been extolled as the habitat of the people of the whole world (*Vāsudevaṁ jagad-vāsaṁ*) who is immeasurable (*aprameyaṁ*), unoriginated (*ajaṁ*) and lord of all (*vibhuṁ*). He is also described as a tree with gods as its fruits (*tridaśodāra-phaladaṁ*), with heavenly damsels as its lovely shoots (*svargastrī-cāru-pallavaṁ*) and with divine chariots as many branches, and as a bestower of honey in the shape of rain-water (*toyadāmbu-madhu-srāvaṁ*).[60]

We find here that the idea of one god embracing the whole universe has already become prominent. The idea of Viśvarūpa i. e. the whole universe is the manifestation of Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva) is set forth here very likely for the first time, so far as inscriptional evidences are concerned.

In the Gangdhar stone inscription[61] of Viśvavarman (son of Naravarman, mentioned above) of the Malava year 480 (423 A. D.) of the Jhalwar State in Central India, Viṣṇu has been mentioned under the name of Madhusūdana (destroyer of the demon Madhu).

The idea has been further developed here and Viṣṇu has been given the attributes of a fighting power. In this very record reference has been made to Viṣṇu's sleep during the four months of the rainy season, commencing from the eleventh day (*ekādaśī*) of the bright half (*śukla-pakṣa*) of the month of Āṣāḍha to the eleventh day (ekādaśī) of the bright half of the month of Kārttika. These two days are known as the *śayan-aikādaśī* and *utthānaikādaśī*. These matters have been elaborately dealt with in the literary texts of the Vaiṣṇava religion. The king *Viśvavarman* is stated here to have shown extreme devotion to lord Viṣṇu who is the wielder of discus and club on finding the transitoriness of human life and worldly prosperity :

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[60] Cf. जीवलोकमिमं ज्ञात्वा शरण्यं शरणं गतः ।
त्रिदशोदारफलदं स्वर्ग स्त्री चारु पल्लवम् ॥१०
विमानानेकविपटं तोयदाम्बुमधुस्रावम् ।
वासुदेवं जगद्वासमप्रमेयमजं विभुम् ॥११ *Ep. Ind.*, XII. 315f

[61] Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 74 f.

न्यायागतेन विभवेन परां च भक्तिं
विख्यापयन्नुपरि चक्रगदाधरस्य । Fleet, *CII.*, III. p. 75.

In this record we are not given any scope of definitely knowing from epigraphic sources whether or not Viṣṇu is endowed with four arms holding conchshell and lotus in addition to club and discus mentioned here. Thus we are not sure whether the king was devoted to a two-armed Viṣṇu or a four-armed one. As stress has been laid on *cakra* and *gadā* only, it may be surmised that the reference is made to *two-armed Viṣṇu.*

It appears from this epigraph that not only the ruling family but also some of the councillors were devoted to god Viṣṇu. One of them named *Mayūrākṣaka* caused a lofty shrine of god Viṣṇu to be built by his sons *Viṣṇu-bhaṭa* and *Haribhaṭa*:

एतत् पाप-पथावरोधि विपुल-श्रीवल्लभै रात्मजैः
विष्णोः स्थानमकारयद् भगवतः श्रीमान् मयूराक्षकः ॥

Fleet, *CII.*, III. p. 76.

That the family of Mayūrākṣaka was very strongly influenced by the cult of Viṣṇu is manifest from the nomenclature of his two sons.

From the stone inscription of Yaśodharman *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana of the Malava year 589[62] (A.D. 532) found in the Mandasor region, i. e. in modern Gwalior State (C. I.), we learn that the epigraph was engraved by one Govinda by name (*utkīrṇṇa Govindena*). From this name we would be perfectly justified to infer that Vaiṣṇavism made its influence felt even among the common people, viz. scribes etc. of some parts of the present Gwalior State of Central India. Viṣṇuvardhana, the name of the king also confirms our belief that Vaiṣṇavism made its way into the royal palace.

Vaiṣṇavism had a free access in some parts of the modern Central Provinces also. From the Eran Stone Boar Inscription of the time of Toramana (whose date has been placed between 500 and 515 A.D.) of the modern Sagar District of Central Provinces, it is learnt that the object of the epigraph was to record the building of the stone temple in which the Boar stands, by Dhanya-viṣṇu, the younger brother of the deceased Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu. Here we get an instance of a stone temple (*silā-prāsāda*) being built at Eran, where the Stone Boar stands. Apart from the inscription, the Stone Boar itself is the very symbol of Vaiṣṇava cult. Because, Boar is regarded as the incarnation of Viṣṇu. In the first verse of the inscription Viṣṇu has been invoked in his Boar incarnation. Allusion has been made to the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a Boar when he plunged into the great ocean and rescued the earth which had been carried off and hidden by the demon Hiraṇyākṣa.

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[62] Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 152 f.

जयति धरण्युद्धरणे घन घोणाघात-घूर्णित-महीध्रः ।
देवो वराहमूर्त्ति स्त्रैलोक्य-महागृह-स्तम्भः[63] ॥

It appears from the above record that by the end of the 5th century A.D. the incarnation of Viṣṇu as Boar had already been accepted by the Hindu society. This is why Dhanya-viṣṇu the ruler of Airikiṇa (modern Eran) built the stone temple of god Nārāyaṇa in the shape of Varāha (boar), the protector of the world in his own district for the spiritual merit of his father and mother (*mātāpitroḥ puṇyāpyāyanār-tham-eṣa bhagavato-varāhamūrtter-jagat-parāyaṇasya nārāyaṇasya śilā-prāsādaḥ svaviṣaye-asminn-airikiṇe kāritaḥ*).

This inscription is a record of the devotional aspect of Vaiṣṇavism. Mātṛviṣṇu, the elder brother of Dhanyaviṣṇu, the donor, has been mentioned here as greatly 'devoted to Bhagavat (Viṣṇu) (*atyanta-bhagavad-bhaktasya*). Similar expressions of devotional feeling are found elsewhere also during the Gupta period. The addition of the word Viṣṇu at the end of the names, Mātṛviṣṇu and Dhanya-viṣṇu is also very significant and makes out a strong case in favour of their genuine devotedness to the god Viṣṇu.

It may be noted here that there was a religio-cultural expansion of Vaiṣṇavism in different parts of the modern Gwalior state including Gwalior town itself which is mentioned as *Gopābvaya* or Gopagiri in ancient records. This belief finds corroboration in the Vaiṣṇavite name *Keśava* of the poet of the Gwalior stone inscription of the time of Mihira-kula (C. 515-535 A.D.) of the regnal year 15.[64]

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[63] Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 159 f.

In the South, among the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha (modern Berar) who were originally devotees of god *Śiva*, the religious tradition was broken by queen Prabhāvatī Guptā, daughter of King Candra Gupta II who was himself a *Paramabhāgavata* and apparently tried his utmost for the propagation of Bhāgavatism in different parts of India. In her Poona inscription[65] of the year 13 (C. 5th century A.D.) which begins with the expression "*Jitam bhagavatā*" (Victory to Bhagavat Viṣṇu) Queen Prabhāvatī Guptā calls herself "*atyanta-bhagavad-bhaktā*" (greatly devoted to Bhagavat or Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu) and in her copper-plate inscription found at Rithpur[66], Amraoti district, Berar, she is mentioned as *bhagavat-pādānudhyātā* (meditating at the feet of Bhagavat or Viṣṇu). So from the above records it appears that she carried the cult of her great father to the South. She converted her husband King Rudrasena to Bhāgavatism making him forsake his family cult of Śaivism. In the copper plate inscription of Pravarasena II (of the regnal year 18) discovered at Chammak[67] in the Ilichpur district of Berar, Rudrasena, husband of Prabhāvatī Guptā is stated to be a devotee of god Viṣṇu by the expression "*bhagavataś-cakrapāṇeḥ prasādopārjita-Śrī-samudayasya*" (of one who earned the mass of prosperity through the grace of Bhagavat Cakrapāṇi or Viṣṇu).

But it is also to be noted here that this conversion of the Vākāṭakas into Vaiṣṇavism was short-lived. In the 4th-5th centuries A.D. almost all the important dynasties and places of India were swayed by Vaiṣṇavism through the influence of the Imperial House of the Guptas under Candra Gupta II and his successors. But in the time of Pravarasena II, son of Prabhāvatī Guptā, Śaivism re-asserted itself as is found in his same Chammak inscription mentioned above.

Vaiṣṇavism had an easy access into the family of the Pallava Kings of Kancipuram in the 4th century A.D. The copper plate inscription[68] found at Guṇapadeya, Kondapur Taluk, Guntur district, Madras, (now preserved in the British Museum, London), mentions that Cārudevī, wife of Yuvamahārāja (Crown-prince) Śrī Vijaya-Buddha-

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[64] Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 162 f.

[65] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 41 f.

[66] *JPASB.*, (N.S) XX p. 58 f.

[67] Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. p. 236 f.

Varman in the reign of Śrī Vijaya Skanda Varman of the Pallava dynasty made a gift of *four nivartanas* of land to Lord Nārāyaṇa installed in the temple of Kulimahattaraka for the increase of their life and strength. Thus the above record proves beyond doubt that although Vedic rites and sacrifices are stated to have been performed by the members of the royal family of the Pallavas of Kancipuram, some female members on the other hand, were devoted to the cult of god Vāsudeva in about 4th century A.D.

Later on, in a copper plate inscription[69] issued by the Pallava King Siṁhavarman and discovered at Narasaraopet Taluka of the Guntur district of Madras, and ascribed to the 6th or 7th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, we find that the record opens with the expression "*Jitaṁ Bhagavatā*" (Victory to Bhagavat or Viṣṇu). Although the same inscription refers to the performance of innumerable Vedic sacrifices by the Pallavas (*yathāvad-āhṛtāneka-kratūnāṁ* or *yathāvad-āhṛtānekāśvamedhānāṁ*), the donor of this plate Siṁhavarman is called here a *Parama-Bhāgavata* (a great devotee of Bhagavat or Viṣṇu). He is said to have made a gift of land on the occasion of an eclipse to one *Deva-Śarman* of Kāśyapa-gotra who wast expert in the Vedic texts and other Śāstras or scriptures for the increase of their life, strength and victory.

So it appears that the Kings of the Pallava race of Kancipuram, who were patrons of Vedic rites in earlier days, were found to be staunch devotees of the cult of Viṣṇu at a later period, i.e. about the 6th-7th centuries A.D.

From some of the plates of Candravarman[70] found in the village Bobbili of the Vizagapatam district, we learn that king Candra Varman, lord of Kalinga was a devout worshipper of Bhagavat or Viṣṇu (*parama-bhāgavata*). The plates are ascribed to the first half of the 5th century A.D. So we find that this part of the country was also greatly influenced by the cult of Viṣṇu about the time of the Gupta Emperor Candra Gupta and his successors.

Again, in Western India, we find in the two grants of Pṛthivī Candra Bhogaśakti[71], discovered in the Nasik district of the Bombay

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68 *Ind. Ant.*, IX. p. 100 f.; *Ep. Ind.* I, p 2., *ibid.*, VIII, p. 143 f.

69 *Ep. Ind.*, XV. p. 254 f.

70 *Ibid.*, XXVII, No. 8.

71 *Ibid.*, XXV, No. 22.

Presidency, that Viṣṇu in the form of Boar has been highly eulogised there.

जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वराहं क्षोभितार्णवं
दक्षिणोन्नत-दंष्ट्राग्र-विश्रान्त-भुवनं वपुः ॥

These inscriptions have been palaeographically assigned to the 7th century A.D. So it appears that in or about the 7th century A.D. god Viṣṇu along with his boar incarnation had become very popular in the western part of India. The presence of Viṣṇu-Trivikrama in cave No. IV, Badami (c. late 6th century A.D.) proves that the cult of Viṣṇu had a fairly perceptible influence in that part of the country in the 6th century A.D. (cf. Kramrisch—"Indian Sculpture" PL. XXIV fig. 67).

Still earlier evidences are also available about the popularity of the cult of Viṣṇu in this region.

From the copper plate grant of Dahrasena[72] found at *Padri* in Surat district, Guzrat, it is learnt that the King Dahrasena was a *Vaiṣṇava* by faith (cf "*Bhagavat-pāda-karma-kara*"). This inscription is dated in the year 207 (=456 A.D.?). In the same record he styles himself as "*Parama-Vaiṣṇava.*"

Facts are also in hand to show that Vaiṣṇavism was flourishing in the Gupta period in some parts of South India under the rule of the Nala dynasty. A stone inscription[73] of the 12th regnal year of the King Skanda-Varman, son of King Bhavadatta of the Nala family (*Śrī Nalānvaya-mukhya*) found at Podagadh in the north-western frontier of the Jeypore Agency bordering on the Bastar State gives some information about Vaiṣṇavism in that part of the country in about 5th century A.D., the supposed date of the record. It mentions the foundation of a *pāda-mūla* or foot-print of Viṣṇu (*pāda-mūlaṁ kṛtaṁ Viṣṇoḥ*) for the worship of which the gift of a temple and money was made. A verse containing the glorification of god Viṣṇu has been set forth just at the beginning of the record.

हरिणा जितं जयति जेष्यतीत्येषा गुणस्तुतिर्न्नहि सा ।
नतु भगवानेव जयो जेतव्यं चाधिजेता च ॥ Verse 1

("That Hari was victorious, is victorious and will be victorious is not that. For verily the Divine (Hari) is Himself the Conquest and the Conqueror.")

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[72] *Ep. Ind.*, X, No. 13.

[73] *Ibid.*, XXI. no. 24, p. 153 f.

The new light thrown by the above inscription goes to prove that the cult of Lord Vāsudeva almost monopolised its sway over most of the important royal families of the Gupta period, including the House of the Nalas of South India.

It is also interesting to note in this connection that the term "*Parama-Vaiṣṇava*" is found also in the "Traikūṭaka" coins[74] in the legends "*Parama-Vaiṣṇava Śrī Mahārāja Dahrasena*" and "*Parama-Vaiṣṇava Śrī Mahārāja Vyāghra(sena)*". These coins have been dated in the 5th century A.D. So from the epigraphic and numismatic evidences quoted above it appears that the term "Parama-Vaiṣṇava" came into general use at least in the 5th century A.D. if not earlier. But in the *Mahābhārata* (XXIII. 6. 97) we come across the word "*Vaiṣṇava*" which is taken to denote the sect that follows the cult of god Viṣṇu.

So it is clear that Vaiṣṇavism made a considerable headway in the royal family of the Traikūṭakas who professed themselves as Parama-Vaiṣṇavas in general in western India during the Gupta period.

It is noteworthy that during the Gupta period, the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu became very popular almost throughout the whole of India. As regards the spread and popularity of the cult of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, sculptural evidences are sufficiently available in its favour from different parts of the country. At Mandor, near the Jodhpur State of Rajputana two stone sculpures[75] giving the incidents from the life of Kṛṣṇa have been discovered. One of these bears the representation of Kṛṣṇa supporting the Govardhana[76] mount and the other displays the slaying of *Dhenukāsura* by him and Balarāma under a palm tree. These stories of the *Harivaṁśa* had been depicted in stone by the artists of the Gupta period (C. 4th century A.D.). At a later period similar scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa were translated into stone by the sculptors of the Paharpur temple (Rajshahi district, Bengal).

That Vaiṣṇavism continued to hold its own even during the late Gupta period at Mathura, the main centre of the earlier activities of this cult is proved by the find of a stone image of four-armed Viṣṇu from Kankalitila. This shows beyond doubt that there existed also a temple of Viṣṇu by the side of the Jaina stūpas and temples at Mathura even in the later days of the Gupta period.[77]

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[74] Rapson,—*Catalague of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty etc.* pp. 198-99. PL. XVIII, Nos. 930-36 pp. 202-03 PL. XVIII, Nos. 975-82.

[75] *Arch. Sur. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1905-06 p. 135 f.

[76] Coomaraswamy *HIIA.*, PL. XLIV, 166.

Some other sculptural evidences from other parts of the country are as follows: —

(1) The colossal figure of *Varāha*[78], the incarnation of Viṣṇu raising the earth from the waters at the beginning of the cycle of creation has been depicted in stone at Udayagiri, Bhopal State. The sculpture has been assigned to c. 400 A.D.

(2) The figure of Narasiṁha[79], the Man-Lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, who took up this form at the time of killing the demon-king Hiraṇyakaśipu, had been carved in sand stone in about 6th century A.D. and was set up at Besnagar but is now in the Gwalior Museum. Another figure of Narasiṁha found on a terracotta sealing discovered at Basarh[80] also belongs to the Gupta period. Although the legend is not very clear, yet the script may rightly be assigned to the time of the Guptas.

(3) The figure of four-armed Viṣṇu[81] represented in the ceiling slab from an old temple at Aihole in the Bijapur district of South India is an interesting object of the 6th century A.D.

As regards the centres of the worship of the Vaiṣṇavite images, we have to grope in darkness on account of the absence of proper materials destroyed by the iconoclasts. Still a ray of light is at times available here and there only to give us an idea about the religious edifices of the bygone ages. The temple of Bhitargaon[82] (20 miles to the south of Cawnpore) is one of the rare brick buildings of the early Gupta period. Vogel is inclined to attribute it to the 5th century A. D. It contains profuse decoration of carved brick work and nicely moulded terracotta panels. The Bhitargaon temple according to Cunningham supplies in the centre of the back or west wall a representation of the Boar (or Varāha) incarnation of Viṣṇu and hence was at least partially connected with the cult of god Vāsudeva in the early Gupta period. This temple is one of the oldest brick temples existing in India and is a unique specimen of the brick architecture of the early Gupta period. Another edifice of importance of the Gupta period ("second half of the 5th century A.D.," according to Smith and Codrington, and about 600 A. D. according to Coomaraswamy[83]) is the famous Daśāvatāra temple of stone at Deogarh in the Jhansi district of U. P. This is undoubtedly a Vaiṣṇava temple and contains recessed sculptured panels representing scenes from Brahmanical iconography, viz.,—Viṣṇu or Ananta, *Gajendra-mokṣa*, and *Nara-nārāyaṇa* etc. This temple is the living example which bears evidence to the fact that this very place was a seat of worship of Vaiṣṇavite deities and attracted pilgrims particularly the devotees of Lord Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu from the different parts of the country.

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[77] Agrawala, *A Short Guide-book to the Arch. Sec. of the Prov. Mus.*, Lucknow, p. 14.

[78] Coomaraswamy *HIIA.*, PL. XLVI. fig. 174.

[79] *Ibid.*, PL. XLV. fig. 170.

[80] *ASIAR.*, 1913-14, p. 133. PL. XLVI, No. 191.

[81] Coomaraswamy., *HIIA*. PL. XLIV. fig. 165.

[82] *ASIAR.*, 1908-09, p. 8.

The region round about modern *Bhita* near Allahabad (U. P.) was also a stronghold of the cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa during the Gupta period. This is proved by the discovery of a terra-cotta sealing (No. 21) in course of archaeological excavations at Bhitā[84]. The sealing contains the following legend of eleven syllables:—

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

"Salutation to god Vāsudeva".

So it seems that very probably Lord Vāsudeva had a temple at *Bhitā* where sealings like the one under discussion were used as votive offerings. The present sealing reminds us of the Vāsudeva temple at Besnagar in front of which the Greek ambassador Heliodoros set up a Garuḍa-dhvaja in about 2nd. century B. C.

That the cult of Vāsudeva was prevalent during the Gupta period in modern Rajghat near the Kāśī Railway station (U. P.) may be inferred from the description given by Dr. V. S. Agrawala[85] of the lower portion of a four-armed terra-cotta figure of Viṣṇu (with short loin cloth, Vana-mālā and the two side emblems *cakra* and *gadā*) found at Rajghat in 1940.

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[83] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 80; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXVII (1951) no. 3, p. 191, PL. I.

[84] *Arch. Sur. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1911-12. p. 47 f.

From the Sarnath stone Inscription of Prakaṭāditya[86] which has been assigned to the end of 7th century A.D. by Fleet on palaeographical grounds, we learn that the king Prakaṭāditya whose capital appears to have been at Kāśī (modern Banaras) was attached to the cult of *bhakti* (Cf. *bhakti-dharmmaika-śakti-satata-prathita...*) which was the prevailing religion of the Gupta period. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of god Viṣṇu who has been mentioned here under the name *Muradviṣ* (*kāritam-etad-bhavanaṁ Muradviṣo...*) (line 11). It seems from the mutilated concluding portion of the record that some provision was also made for the repair of the building when necessary (*khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskāra...*) (line 14).

So it appears that a king of Kāśī in the 7th century A. D. was a devotee of Lord Viṣṇu-Murāri and built a temple for the deity and made necessary provision for its maitenance. Information, if any, about the exact location of the temple cannot be ascertained now on account of the mutilated condition of the inscription; it might have been built at *Kāśī* or elsewhere. But the present epigraph proves the popularity of the cult of Viṣṇu in the royal family of Kāśī in or about 7th century A.D.

During the rule of the Guptas, Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar) played no mean part for the propagation and maintenance of the cause of Vaiṣṇavism. Even the common populace of the country showed faith in the cult and cultural achievement of this religion. Some of the clay sealings found in course of excavations at Basarh[87] bear testimony to this fact. A sealing (No. 31) bears the legend "*Śrī-Viṣṇupada-svāmi-Nārāyaṇa*" (PL. XL. 3); two others (Nos. 33 and 35) give the legend "Jitaṁ Bhagavatā", (Victorious is the Lord). The words Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Bhagavat are certainly indicative of the cultural and religious import. A number of sealings of private individuals bearing the names *Cakradāsa* (sealing

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85 *Jour. U. P. Research Soc.*, XIV (1941) p. 4.

86 Fleet, *CII.*, III. pp, 284-86.

87 *Arch. Sur. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1903-04, pp. 110 f. PL. XL.

No. 54), *Haridāsa* (No. 64), *Harigupta* (No. 65), *Keśavadatta* (No. 68), and *Keśava* (No. 69) speaks to the fact that Vaiṣṇavism found a deep-rooted seat in the heart of the local people. It is evident that Vaiṣṇavism made a wide march and brought within its cultural or religious fold people from various strata of the society. We find that in this region also, the artisan class was strongly influenced by the cult of Vāsudeva. Two sealings one with the legend "Kulika Hariḥ" (No. 76) and the other with "Kulika Harisya" (No. 77) (PL. XLII. 36) are sufficient to convince one of the validity of this statement. A section of the people of Basarh accepted Vaiṣṇavism in its entirety with various incarnations of Viṣṇu. The private sealings containing the legends *Varāha-dattaḥ* (No. 114) and *Varāhasya* (No. 115) are fully indicative of the fact that Viṣṇu in his Varāha form was highly appreciated by the populace of this locality as well, as elsewhere. They accepted the name Varāha for naming their own children. This shows to what extent Vaiṣṇavism made its appeal to the heart of the people. In fact Vaiṣṇavism made a rapid and wide march over its rivals so far as cultural conquest is concerned.

Now coming over to the east, i. e. Bengal, at a slightly later period, we find that Vaiṣṇavism had already found a sweet home in this province. A terracotta plaque with the inscription of a standing figure of four-armed Viṣṇu was discovered a few years ago at the Rajasan site of Sabhar, District Dacca, with an inscription "*Oṁ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*" (=Salutation to the Divine Vāsudeva) written in the characters of the 7th-8th century A.D.[88] The plaque is like the Buddhist votive tablet containing representations of stūpas or the Buddha with Buddhist creed formula "*ye dharmā*" etc. Though this place, i.e. Rajasan gave out some relics of Buddhism of this period, it seems that this locality was not the monopoly of Buddhism in 6th-8th centuries A.D. But Vaiṣṇavism also flourished side by side with it.

The use of the Vaiṣṇavite creed formula with twelve syllables in terracotta plaque in 6th-8th centuries A.D. is a very important point to be noticed. The discovery of this plaque is unique in the history of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal. So it seems that the use of the Vaiṣṇavite creed formula (or *Vīja mantra*) has had a very long history. Mention of this creed in the terracotta plaque of 6th-8th centuries A.D. proves beyond doubt that this formula was certainly evolved at a very early period. In the Khoh copper plate inscription of Saṁkṣobha of the year 209 (=528-29 A.D.) this Vaiṣṇavite formula of twelve syllables (*Oṁ namo Bbagavate Vāsudevāya*) as stated above is found, so it may be presumed that the history of this formula must be traced to a still earlier period. The use of this formula in early records has been found so far in three places viz:—(1) *Khoh* in the Nagaudh State, C.I. (2) Bhita (near Allahabad) and (3) Rajasan in the Dacca district of East Bengal. But it is a far cry from Rajasan to Khoh, and so it is not possible at the present state of our knowledge to ascertain the exact place of the origin of this fundamental formula of the Vaiṣṇava devotees.

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[88] *ASIAR.*, 1927-28, pp. 111-112, PL. XLIX. fig. b.

At a slightly later period, we find that the cult of Vāsudeva had already made a rapid stride in Bengal. Sculptural evidences prove beyond doubt that this region has been a faithful votary of the cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa definitely from the time of the Kuṣānas, and very likely from a much earlier period. Mention has already been made of the Hankrail Viṣṇu (Maldah district) of the Kuṣāna period. The fact that Susunia with its neighbouring places in Bankura district was an important centre of Vaiṣṇavism during the early part of the Gupta period has also been stated above. Further sculptural evidences in stone on the role played by Vaiṣṇavism in this province have been revealed by the Archaeological excavations at Paharpur in Rajshahi district of Bengal. The Vaiṣṇavite sculptures of Paharpur give an undoubted proof that there was a school of sculptors who went on making Vaiṣṇavite figures for satisfying the necessity of the local people for about three centuries roughly beginning with the 6th century A.D. These figures of Paharpur mostly of the Gupta period were drawn from earlier constructions for the purpose of decorating the basement of the temple, belonging to the age of the Pala king, Dharmapala. The rich collection of the figures depicting the various incidents from the life of God Kṛṣṇa shows that during the Gupta period, Bengal and particularly Paharpur was a great seat of Kṛṣṇa worship in Eastern India. A glance at the following sculptures will convince anybody of the truth of this statement.

(1) The grey sandstone sculpture of Balarāma[89];—one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu depicted here with plough under snake-hoods.

(2) Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā[90] according to Dikshit, but Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī or Satyabhāmā according to other scholars. These scholars are not inclined to accept the identification of the female figure as Rādhā as has been done by Dikshit on the ground that the name of Rādhā in association with Kṛṣṇa is a thing of a much later period. This sculpture which stylistically may be dated in the 6th century A.D. is not likely to show their relation here. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of *Hāla* which to some extent deals with the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is supposed to be of a comparatively late date. The *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* which mentions Rādhā as a premier Gopī is a work of a much later date. It is in the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva that Rādhā finds her place as the supreme Gopī (in the 12th century A.D.)

It may be noted here from the attitude of the above mentioned male figure (Kṛṣṇa) on the left of the female figure touching the right breast of the latter with his right hand, that the amatory phase of Vaiṣṇavism which culminated in the amorous songs of Jayadeva developed gradually. In later Vaiṣṇavism the devotees also began to take great pleasure in the amatory nature of the divine couple both in art-expression and literature.

(3) Kṛṣṇa killing the demon, *Keśin*[91] who was sent by Kaṁsa to Vṛndāvana for killing the latter's nephew Kṛṣṇa who was destined to uproot the family of Kaṁsa.

(4) Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma wrestling with Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika,[92] the two famous wrestlers of Kaṁsa, who was ultimately killed by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.

(5) Kṛṣṇa lifting Govardhana mount.[93]

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[89] K. N. Dikshit, *Excavations at Paharpur* (*Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.* no. 55) PL XXVII. (b).

[90] *Ibid.*, PL. XXVII (c).

[91] *Ibid.*, PL. XXVIII (a).

[92] *Ibid.*, PL. XXVIII (b).

[93] *Ibid.*, PL. XXVIII (c).

[94] *Ibid.*, PL. XXVIII (d).

(6) Kṛṣṇa uplifting the twin Arjuna trees[94] (yamalārjuna). The story is that Kṛṣṇa in his childhood uprooted and broke simultaneously two very strong and lofty Arjuna trees in one of his exploits.

(7) Vasudeva carrying infant Kṛṣṇa[95].

(8) Devakī handing over new born Kṛṣṇa to Vasudeva[96].

(9) Dragging of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma[97].

(10) A Figure (? probably Kṛṣṇa) holding flute[98].

From the study of the above list of sculptural remains at Paharpur published in the Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 55 (Excavations at Paharpur) by K. N. Dikshit, we find that Bengal became an ardent worshipper of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, so much so that in Bengal artists were employed to depict the popular incidents from their life story beginning with their boyhood in stone so that it may be an inspirer to the visitors and pilgrims. In fact, Bengal was a fertile soil where the seed of Kṛṣṇa cult was richly nourished into the prosperous and sumptuous tree of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism at the time of Śrī-Caitanya.

It is worth noting in this connection that some of the lithic illustrations of Paharpur relating to the incidents of Kṛṣṇa's life may rightly be compared with similar instances found at Mandor near Jodhpur State of an earlier date (c. 4th century A. D.) mentioned above.

It is also to be added in this connection that the story of the relationship of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs or Milkmaids which has been mentioned in the *Gāthā Saptaśatī* of Hāla and the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* finds explicit mention in the Udaypur Inscription of Aparājita of the (Vikrama) Ṣaṁvat 718[99] (661 A.D.). This inscription in its first two verses contains an invocation to god *Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa* under the names

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[95] *Ibid.*, PL. XXIX. (b).

[96] *Ibid.*, PL. XXXIII. (d).

[97] *Ibid.*, PL. XXXVI (c). That Kṛṣṇa legends became very popular during the Gupta period is also proved by the Bhitari Inscription of Skanda Gupta, in which it is mentioned that Skanda Gupta approached his mother just as Kṛṣṇa came to his mother Devaki after killing the enemy (very likely Kaṁsa).

[98] *Ibid.*, PL. XXXVI (d)

[99] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, no. 3. pp. 29 f.

Hari and *Śaurī* for protection. In the first verse, we find that Hari, who is here impliedly identified with Kṛṣṇa has been mentioned to have been an object of desire by the milkmaids (*Gopa-Vanitā*)

"स्पृहयन्ति गोप वनिता यस्मै स पायाद्धरिः"

Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* (divine sports) with the Gopīs is indicated here.

In verses Nos. 6-8, it has been recorded that Yaśomatī, wife of Mahārāja Varāha Siṁha, chief leader (or commander of the army) of king Aparājita of the Guhila family, finding the vanity of fortune, youth and wealth, built a temple of Viṣṇu, the enemy of *Kaiṭabha* in order to cross the troubled sea of this worldly existence.

So we are told here that Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was worshipped in the State of Rajputana where his amorous association with the Gopīs was well known and where he was worshipped and eulogised even for his such relationship with them. This record shows the amatory tendency of the Bhakti cult which had a full fledged development in later times.

It is further to be noted here that in Assam also we find that the cult of Vāsudeva had gained a free access into the royal household, long before the middle of 6th century A.D. By the Baḍaganga Rock Inscription of King Bhūtivarman[100] of the year 234 (553-54 A. D.), we are informed that the king Bhūtivarman, although he had performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, was a devout Vaiṣṇava. (*Śrī-parama-daivata-parama-bhāgavata-mahārājāśvamedha-yājināṁ Śrī-Bhūtivarmaṇaḥ pādāñaṁ*...). This inscription has been discovered near Daboka in the Nowgong district of Assam. Some other evidences of the spread of Vaiṣṇavism in Assam at an earlier date may also be available if a thorough local search is made for the purpose. It is really a matter of great interest how *Bhāgavatism*, a creed of a tribal people (Sātvatas) of the Mathura district had become one of the most dominating religions of India shining brightly both in the hut of the poor peasants as well as in the palace of the mighty emperors. From the religio-cultural point of view Vaiṣṇavism stands supreme among all other religions and its position is unique in India.

From the foregoing pages it will be quite clear that Mathura and its neighbouring regions were a strong centre of Vaiṣṇavism from a time long before the rise of the Suṅgas and continued to be so during their regime and that of their successors for centuries. Mathura was a favourite place of this religion and it is quite reasonable to suppose that Bhāgavatism or Vaiṣṇavism originated in this part of the country. Professor H. C. Raychowdhuri seems to be quite right in his supposition that Mathura region was the first centre of the Bhāgavata movement[101].

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[100] *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 18 f.

He is further of opinion that "the new faith that developed on the banks of the Jamuna finally coalesced with a few Brahmanical and popular cults to form the great federation of religions known as Vaiṣṇavism. The agencies employed in effecting this union were the following[102]: —

(i) The *Vyūhà* doctrine in virtue of which Vāsudevism united with Saṅkarṣaṇa worship to form Bhāgavatism;

(ii) The doctrine of *Avatāra* which effected a synthesis between Bhāgavatism and the cult of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and gave birth to Vaiṣṇavism;

(iii) The *Puruṣa-Prakṛti* theory in virtue of which the cult of *Śrī* was engrafted on Vaiṣṇavism.

With Mathura as the centre, Bhāgavatism began to make a slow but steady progress on all sides and gradually spread throughout the whole country, side by side with other cults. Although Bhāgavatism or Vaiṣṇavism might not have been able to bring within its fold the whole population as its direct adherents yet indirectly all other cults are indebted to it in various ways. First, the word Bhagavān meaning endowed with *bhaga* consisting of sixfold qualities 1. *aiśvarya* = divinity. 2. *vīrya* = heroism, 3. *yaśas* = fame, 4. *śrī* = prosperity, 5. *jñāna* = knowledge, and 6. *vairāgya* = renunciation, seems to have been applied at the beginning to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is believed to have possessed these six attributes whereby He is regarded as 'God' Himself. The terms *Bhagavān*, *bhakti*, *bhakta*, and *bhajana* etc. appear to have been first used with reference to the cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and later on these were made use of in connection with the religions of the other sects as well. The Buddhists accepted this term (Bhagavān) for use in reference to the founder of their religion. In the Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Asoka (middle of 3rd century B. C.) the term *bhagavān* has been used to mean "Buddha" (Cf. hida *Bhagavaṁ* jāte ti Lummini-gāme). Similarly in the Piprahwa Buddhist vase Inscription[103] (c. 3rd century. B. C.), the Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions of the time of Ranjuvula and Śoḍāsa[104] (c. 1st century B.C.—1st century A.D.), Taxila copper plate Inscription of Patika, year 78[105] (A.D. 21?), Kosam Inscription of (the reign of) Kaniṣka,[106] year 2 and Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscriptions of Kaniṣka,[107] year 3, etc, the term "*Bhagavān*" has always been used in referring to Buddha. Again this term *Bhagavat* is used in the Kānākherā stone Inscription of Śrīdhara Varman[108] of the year 13 to refer to god Kārttikeya, and in the Udayagiri cave Inscriptions of Candra Gupta II[109] (401 A. D.) it applies to god Śambhū or Śiva. The feminine of this term i. e. Bhagavatī in a later period was taken to mean *Pārvatī*, the consort of Śiva. The Jaina inscriptions of the early period also show the use of *bhagavat* in referring to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, cf. the "New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura[110] of 1st-2nd centuries A.D. No. II "*Bhagavato Pratimā sarvatobhadrikā*, No. III. *Bhagavato santi*...No. VIII. *Priyatāṁ Bhagavān Ṛṣabhaśrīḥ* etc. In the Gupta period also this term was retained for applying it to the *Arhats*. In the Paharpur Inscription of the year 159[111] (479 A. D.) the word *bhagavat* precedes the term *Arhat Bhagavatāṁ Arhatāṁ*). Similarly the term Bhakti (bhaj) also was, along with its attribute, borrowed by other sects to enrich their religious ideology.

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[101] H. C. Ray Chaudhuri—*Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect.* (1st edition), page vii.

[102] Do. (2nd edition), pp. 8-9

So we find that all other cults of India were more or less influenced by the cult of Vāsudeva when it gradually began to attain prominence and assume an all-India importance. Although it had an humble beginning from a tribal race of the valley of the Jumna, in course of time it became the dominating religion in India. Just as Buddhism flourished under the patronage of Asoka, similarly Bhāgavatism or Vaiṣṇavism found warm sympathy from the Gupta monarchs. Successive kings of the Gupta dynasty were the torch-bearers of the cult of Vāsudeva or Bhāgavatism. During the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. the light of Bhāgavatism was burning only in Mathura, Besnagar (Gwalior State), Ghosundi (Chitorgarh), Almora region, Audumbara country of Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur etc., Kanauj (U. P.) and Kumrahar (in Bihar). At Nanaghat in Western India (Bombay Presidency) the influence of Vaiṣṇavism was also obvious. During the Śaka-Kuṣāna period though Mathura became a strong centre of Jainism and Buddhism, still the cult of Vāsudeva continued there as one of their rivals at times being patronised by the royal officials on behalf of their masters. The names of Ahicchatra (in Bareilly district) (U.P.) and Hankrail (Maldah district, Bengal) also appear before our mind in connection with certain relics of the Kusāna period.

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[103] *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, p. 117 f. ; *JRAS*., 1898, p 387 f.
[104] *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 48 f.
[105] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 55 f.
[106] *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 210 f.
[107] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 173 f.
[108] *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 232.
[109] Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 25 f.
[110] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 371 f.
[111] *Ibid*., XX, p. 61 f.

During the Gupta period the geographical orbit of Vaiṣṇavism had extended remarkably on all sides. We find records of this cult in almost all the provinces of India in those days. In *Central India*, Udayagiri near Bhilsa, village Āśramaka in Khoh (Nāgaudh State) Mandasor and Besnagar (both in Gwalior State) and Gangdhar (Jhalwar State, C. I.), in *Central Provinces*, Eran (Sagar district C. P.); in *Kathiawaḍ*, Junagarh; in *Bombay Presidency*, Nasik; in *South India*, Aihole (Bijapur Dt.); Bibbili (in Vizagapatam Dt.); in *U.P.* Allahabad, Meherauli (near Delhi), Bilsad (Etah district, U.P.), Karamḍâṅgā (Faizabad district, U.P.), Deogarh (Jhansi District, U.P.), Bhitargaon near Cawnpore (U.P.), in *Bihar*, Basarh, (Muzaffarpur district), in *Bengal*, Dhanaidaha, Paharpur (both in Rajshahi district), Baigram (in Bogra district), Faridpur, Gunaighar (in Tippera district), Damodarpur (in Dinajpur district) Mallasarul (in Burdwan district) and Susunia (in Bankura district), and in *Assam*, Baḍaganga (in Nowgong district) are the places which are bearing evidences to show that during the Gupta period Vaiṣṇavism made a notable progress in different directions in the country.

The conception about certain *avatāras* (incarnations) of Viṣṇu also had grown by the time of the Guptas. The *Varāha-avatāra or Boar-incarnation* of Viṣṇu has by this time become very popular almost throughout India. Instances of the devotion to Viṣṇu in his Varāha-form have come from different places of the country viz:—Udayagiri (c. 400 A.D.), Bhitargaon (near Cawnpore U.P.) (5th century A.D.), Damodarpur (Bengal) (5th century A. D.), and Eran (C. P.) (c. 5th-6th centuries A.D.) etc.

The Dwarf incarnation (*Vāmanāvatāra*) of Viṣṇu is indirectly referred to in the Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta. There Vāmana is not mentioned by name, but by indication, as one "who for the sake of happiness of the Lord of the gods seized back from Bali the Goddess of the wealth and splendour." (*Śriyam……… tridaśapati-sukhārthaṁ yo Baler-ājahāra*").

The conception of *Nara-siṁha Avatāra* or Man-Lion incarnation of Viṣṇu also took a formal shape during the Gupta period. A figure of Nara-siṁha of about the 6th century A.D., collected from Besnagar is now found in the Gwalior Museum. Another figure of this Avatāra on a terracotta sealing of the Gupta period comes from Basarh (district Muzaffarpur).[112]

Some other *avatāras* also might have come into existence by the time of the Guptas, but definite evidences are not yet available to this effect.

It is also to be pointed out here that although Vaiṣṇavism could not bring the entire population of the country within its fold, it made a steady progress from an age, long before the time of the Suṅgas side by side with other religious cults of India and received a status of paramount importance during the rule of the Guptas.

As regards evolution of the religious ideas, we can find from available materials that the earlier form of Vaiṣṇavism was more or less ethical. But with the advent of the Guptas, the cult of devotion (or *bhakti*) (which might have its origin in an earlier period) was given very much prominence in Vaiṣṇavism. The rulers and the ruled all were influenced by the Bhakti-cult in some form or other. But with the decline of the Gupta power, it appears, that the cult of *bhakti* or Vaiṣṇavism stands at a cross-road. It takes a new turn, now towards an amatory attitude. Inscriptions, sculptures and literature—all are replete with the message of this new movement which shows a full development in the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva in the twelfth century A. D. in Bengal.

KUNJA GOVINDA GOSWAMI

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[112] *ASIAR.*, 1912-14. p. 133, PL. XLVI, no. 91.

British Official and Non-Official Attitudes and Policies Toward The Indian National Congress, 1885-1894

In the topic proposed here an attempt will be made to ascertain whether there were significant differences between official and non-official British attitudes and policies toward the Indian National Congress in its early formative years and whether these differences had any significant effect on British-Indian relations then or later.

One problem which arises is that of defining the terms "official and non-official" as used here. "Official" here applies in India to members of the Indian Civil Service and in England to officials who were associated with offices or ministries directly concerned with the administration of India, including the Prime Minister, where he has expressed an opinion on the subject of discussion. "Non-official" is treated in India as including ex-members of the Indian Civil Service, who constituted perhaps the most active group working on behalf of the Indian National Congress among the English community, as well as other members of this community such as merchants. The inclusion of members of Parliament in this category is perhaps subject to question, except that they did not form a part of the formal political machinery which had the administration of India as its specific object. It must be acknowledged that an absolute distinction cannot be made along official and non-official lines. For example, the Anglo-Indian press might be thought to belong to the non-official body of opinion in India. However, in view of the opinion voiced by some that the press was an organ of British officialdom, and the fact that it has in fact voiced opinions which would seem to lend support to this view, it will be considered here in this category.

The period 1885-1894 has been chosen because it represents the first ten formative years of the existence of the Indian National Congress and because this period saw the crystallization of what was later to be the official attitude of the British government toward the administrative relationship of India to England during the first half of the twentieth century.

Without entering an exhaustive discussion of the causes of Indian nationalism, it must be kept in mind that the impetus provided by

British rule to the development of Indian nationalism and to the genesis of the Congress was both positive and negative, both conscious and unconscious. The Congress was but the political facet of a phenomenon which also had its economic, social, religious and artistic expression.

In the absence of official records, in considering the non-official position we have an indication not so much of attitudes and policies (except insofar as individual convictions can be considered such) as of the actions of a few individuals whose position we can infer from their activities, Allan Hume and William Wedderburn perhaps best exemplify the non-official position in India vis-a-vis the Congress. Both of them had been members of the Civil Service, but it was as retired members of the Civil Service that they were active in connection with the Congress.

Allan Hume, the son of a Scottish reformer, had worked his way up in the Indian Civil Service in the British tradition of public service. Although he was not equipped with much formal education, the policies which he conceived at the district level as well as in the Government Secretariat were consistently progressive and instituted for the welfare of the Indians. His work furthered progress in education, in the rationalization of the customs administration, in reorganization of the police administration, in the development of the vernacular press, and in the establishment of juvenile reformatories. His policies were generally in advance of the Civil Service as a whole, and in 1879 he was removed from the Government Secretariat for "insubordination". (Wedderburn 1913:7) Although he did not immediately retire from the Service, Hume's efforts to bring the foreign bureaucracy closer to the Indian people through reform were effectively frustrated by the vested official interest.

It was his efforts after his retirement from the Civil Service in 1882 that have led many to describe Hume as the "Father of the Indian National Congress". Freed from responsibility to illiberal elements in the administration, he was able to devote his attention to what he conceived as the best interests of the Indian people. With the country prepared as it was for a national political organization, Hume's efforts met with almost unanimous approbation from those English-educated Indians who could respond. In the first place the Indian National Conference, which had begun its annual meetings in 1883 at the instigation of Banerjea, had helped to prepare the Indian political climate for the idea. It also provided some of the membership for the Congress. What motivated Hume in his efforts to institute the Congress was his realization of the existence of a large group of Western-educated Indians with social and political demands which, although they were not yet crystallized, needed some avenue of expression. Also, although Hume did not predict a rebellion of the magnitude of the 1857 Mutiny, on the basis of reports of religious leaders, he did anticipate a violent outbreak of sporadic crimes. (Wedderburn 1913: 81) One writer asserts that, although there were many forces in India moving in the direction of a national political organization at the time, it was imperative for an outsider to activate these forces, since Indian efforts were regarded as seditious. (Dasgupta 1946: 132)

Accordingly, on March 1, 1883, Hume issued his dramatic appeal to Graduates of Calcutta University. The letter, a request that fifty graduates volunteer as founders of a national movement, had a considerable impact on Indian leaders. In it Hume wrote in part:,

> Whether in the individual of the nation, all vital progress must spring from within and it is to you, her most cultured and enlightened minds, her most favored sons, that your country must look for the initiative...And if amongst even you, the elite, fifty men cannot be found with sufficient power of self-sacrifice, sufficient love for and pride in their country, sufficient genuine and unselfish patriotism to take the initiative, and if needs be, devote the rest of their lives to the cause—then there is no hope for India...*Men* know how to act. Let there be no complaints of Englishmen being preferred to you in all important offices, for if you lack that public spirit, that highest form of altruistic devotion that leads men to subordinate private ease to the public weal, that true patriotism that has made Englishmen what they are—then rightly are these preferred to you, and rightly and inevitably have they become your rulers. (Griffiths 1952 :279)

The letter had the desired effect of arousing these leaders to action and resulted in the formation of the Indian National Union, which ushered in the first meeting of the Indian National Congress. Before the first meeting of the Congress, Hume did much of the work of arranging the meeting himself. He visited several members of

Parliament in England for advice on how to conduct propaganda operations there to inform the public on developments in India. His influence did not cease with the establishment of the Congress, although he tried to subordinate his personal role of leadership in accordance with the belief expressed in his letter. He was appointed General Secretary at five of the annual sessions of the Congress. (Besant 1915 : passim.) He continued his work in the form of distribution of pamphlets and lectures in India and in England to secure funds for the Congress and to draw public attention to it. He did this work on the conviction that officials in India would never be convinced of the need for reform of the legislative councils and the Civil Service, as their own powers would thereby be curtailed. (Wedderburn 1913 : 85) He left India finally in 1894, therefter devoting himself to the work of the Congress organizations in England.

William Wedderburn was second only to Hume in influencing the early development of the Congress. He also served as an official in the I.C.S., at one time as a district judge and later as a judge in the central government. Wedderburn was sympthetic with the Congress from the beginning, although as an official he could not take part in its first meeting and activities. He was reportedly criticized for his known sympathies by the "imperialist Press as a nuisance, an enemy, a man who must somewhere have a sinister motive for his hostility to the service which he had entered." (Ratcliffe 1923 : 181) His retirement from the Service in 1887 was followed by his presidency of the 1889 session of the Congress. In his presidential address he commented on the origin of the Congress, saying, "As regards its historical origin, we know that it is the direct result of the noblest of British statesmanship : the natural and healthy fruit of higher education and free institutions freely granted to the people of India". (Wedderburn 1918 : 2) In some of his other observation, Weddeburn did not give as much credit to the British administration, and referred repeatedly to the Civil Service as a conservative vested interest.

Other non-official Englishmen in India who had a part in the early development of the Congress were less well known, although they represented a larger segment of the non-official English community in India (i.e. the planters and merchants) than did Hume and Wedderburn. There was George Yule, a Calcutta merchant who presided over the 1888 session of the Congress and later became a member of the British Committee of the Congress. As president of the Congress he complained that the British non-official class was disfranchised in India and had no more political voice than the Indians. (Lovett 1920: 43) There was also Alfred Webb, a member of Parliament, who presided over the tenth session of Congress in 1894.

A large part of the work of Hume, Wedderburn and associated committees was carried out in England on the assumption (which proved largely correct) that more British sympathy could be aroused there than through officials in India. Notable among these was the deputation of 1890 which included several Englishmen, including Hume, Yule and Eardley Norton, as well as several Indian members. In attempting to represent the views of the Congress in England, this delegation visited Gladstone to elicit his support of reform of the legislative councils. Gladstone subsequently did speak in support of the elective principle at a reading of Cross' bill on the expansion of the Councils. In his speech of March 28, 1892, he expressed the belief that the elective principle was already embodied in the Government's bill and needed no further amendment. (Keith 1922: 67ff.) His interpretation of the Act as finally passed was not the generally accepted one.

A Congress resolution of 1889 voted support to a British Committee of the Indian National Congress with Dadabhai Naoroji, Wedderburn (M.P.), W.S. Caine (M.P.), W.S.B. Maclaren (M.P.), J. E. Ellis (M.P.), William Digby and George Yule as its original members. (Besant 1915: 94) The Committee distributed pamphlets and sponsored lectures but was hampered by inadequate funds. After 1890 its chief propaganda medium was *India*, a periodical edited by William Digby, the Secretary of the Committee. Wedderburn acted as chairman of this committee until his death.

Parliamentary interest in India was manifested in 1883 when John Bright acted as chairman of the Indian Committee for Parliamentary Action. This committee lapsed, to be revived ten years later by Wedderburn and Caine, with a membership of 154 in the House of Commons. Previously, as has been mentioned, Hume had visited several members of Parliament prior to the first session of the Congress. One of them, Reid, agreed to secure a promise from every candidate to give attention to Indian affairs in elections and to publish his correspondence in the newspapers. This was partly the basis of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. (Wedderburn 1913:56)

Most dramatic of Parliamentary sympathizers of the Indian cause was Charles Bradlaugh, who was "member for India" between 1886 and 1891. In recognition of his work in Parliament he was invited to address the 1889 session of the Congress. (Bradlaugh 1933:259) While in India Bradlaugh consulted leaders and collected proposals for the reform of the Councils. Although these were incorporated into a bill which Bradlaugh introduced into Parliament in 1890, this bill was forestalled until 1892 when it was passed in a modified form (i.e., in the form proposed by Lord Cross, Secretary of State for India in 1888), as the Indian Councils Act. Wedderburn gives credit to these organizations and individuals for any action which was taken in favor of Indian aspirations during this period. (Wedderburn 1913:99)

The attitudes of officials in India and in England toward the Congress were of course derived from general premises on the relationship of India to England. These premises envisioned a continuation of the traditional relationship as it was prior to 1885. Before considering these attitudes, which were generally not amenable to the political aspirations of the Congress, several preliminary considerations may be noted. First, the general tenor of Congress demands was moderate throughout the first ten years of its existence and did not envision a severing of Indian ties with Britain. All of the Congress leaders at this time, both Indian and British, adhered to this moderate position. The demands were evolutionary and centered around reform of the legislative councils and the Civil Service in accordance with official pledges to include more Indians in the government (for example, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 following the Mutiny).

Many observers perceived at this time that there was a basic contradiction between some of the manifestations of British rule in India and Indian aspirations, but these observations did not assume the form of overt extremism until two or three decades later.

Sir Henry Cotton, who was at one time Secretary to the Indian Government and later a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, stated some of these anomalies as follows:

> To Englishmen the country may mean the soil of India, with all that is above and below it. To Indians it can mean only the people. This theory of identic British interests denotes,

> no doubt, the advancement of Englishmen, but it does not connote the welfare and happiness of the children of the soil. On the one side it has directly led to the formation of a soild phalanx of opinion in acute antagonism to Indian aspirations. On the other it has stirred the nascent spirit of Indian opposition, and the bitterness of race feeling has been accentuated by the constant irritation of a policy in which the Indians had no share.
>
> The Indian people have now found their voice, and their principal demand is, as might have been expected, for a larger share in the loaves and fishes of the administration. A struggle is thereby generated with the official classes, and the sense of rivalry thus occasioned has created a more effective barrier between Indians and officials than that which has always been felt to exist between Indians and the non-official community. (Cotton 1911: 56-58)

Cotton was a candid and articulate exception to the average Civil Servant in India at the time (He actually made these observations public at a later date).

It has been noted that in England Parliamentary concern in the reforms sought by the Congress was chiefly fostered by a comparatively small group of dedicated individuals. In general the attitude toward India was one of indifference, and no Party had succeeded in making India an issue for campaign purposes. Lord Ripon wrote to Sir Henry Cotton from England to this effect in 1887 as follows: "I fully share your opinion as to the importance of the reorganization of the Legislative Councils. But to obtain any attention to that or any other Indian question from the people of this country at the present time is simply impossible. Men's thoughts, so much at least of them as they are able to give to politics, are totally absorbed now upon Irish affairs, and they have not five minutes to give to any other matter whatsoever, let alone the affairs of India." (Cotton, 1911: 199-200).

Many have observed that this lack of interest was to the distinct advantage of the official vested interest both in India and in England and to the disadvantage of Indian interests. Wedderburn in his 1889 presidential address to the Congress said, "The India Office is strong against us, together with the influence and of the services of that society". (Wedderburn 1918 :9) Not only was the India Office opposed to Indian reforms, but many of its operations were conducted under cover of secrecy. As Florence Nightingale wrote to Wedderburn (referring to Randolph Churchill, who was Secretary of State for India in 1885), "Lord, Randolph, the 'Boy with the drum', is doing untold harm—literally untold, because the India Office is a secret society." (Ratcliffe 1923: 124)

Wedderburn and Eardley Norton both criticized the Council of the Secretary of State for India, whose abolition was one of the objectives of the Congress at its first session. (Besant 1915: 13) In moving the abolition of the Council, Norton said, "I would...sooner pin my faith on any proposed combination than entrust anything in which I felt a personal interest to the clutches of carelessness of the India Council". (Sitaramayya 1935: 35) Wedderburn frequently referred to the untenable position of the India Council, since in bringing a grievance before a member of the Council, one merely placed it before the person who would be personally most affected by a correction of the complaint. (Wedderburn 1918: 7)

At a higher level Lord Salisbury (who had been Secretary of State for India from 1874 through the period of the passage of the Vernacular Press Act and Secretary of State during 1890) expressed his opposition to the Congress in a memoradum in 1888 regarding the granting of legislative powers to elected councillors. He said, "I think I am not wrong in assuming that the men who will be brought to the fore by this plan will be (in Bengal) Bengalee lawyers, agents, newspaper writers....In India they are the class among whom disaffection is the strongest, and they are the most competent to use the weapon which membership of a legislative council would place in their hands to embarass and damage the Government....I cannot conceive the object of introducing this dangerous principle into the constitution of the proposed Councils. We shall in no way please the classes on whose goodwill the submission of India depends: we shall not reconcile our only enemies, but we shall give them arms against ourselves." (Cecil 1932: 195-196) At the time of the introduction of Lord Cross' Councils Bill into the House of Lords in 1890, Lord Salisbury (Secretary of State at the time) was still in opposition to the principle of election. He commented on its application to India saying, "The principle of election or Government by representation is not an Eastern idea; it does not fit Eastern minds", and further, "Do not imagine that you can introduce it in small doses, and that it will be satisfied by that concession." (Hansard 1890: 98-99) These conflicting statements illustrate the tenor of the opposition of British officialdom in England to the idea of any change in the traditional connection with India. The "Compromise" bill which was passed in 1892 negated the elective principle.

The selection of this issue and Lord Salisbury's comments on it may be subject to criticism as an isolated opinion and issue. Undeniably there were influential voices raised in favour of the elective principle, notably those of Gladstone and Lord Ripon. However, on this issue, which was the touchstone of the Congress program throughout this period, the views of Salisbury and the India Office were more influential in effecting the final outcome than the "non-official" voices of Northbrook and Ripon.

It has already been indicated that official reaction in India to the Congress was considered inevitable by two of its principal protagonists, Hume and Wedderburn, who saw that the only way to circumvent the "Simla Clique", which (according to Wedderburn) represented only its own interests the majority of the time, was to conduct an educational program in England to appeal to the public and to Parliament. This official attitude did not immediately appear at the time of the first session of the Congress, nor was it consistently in evidence throughout the early years of the Congress. For example, although the official attitude had been generally established as unfavourable at the time of the fourth session, a Lieutenant-Governor at Lucknow overruled officials who had created difficulties for the reception committee which was arranging for that session. (Chintamani 1937: 39)

The single official who has been perhaps most cited as personifying the official attitude in India toward the Congress is Lord Dufferin, who was Governor-General in India from 1884 to 1888. However, there was a certain amount of ambivalence in his position. Prior to the first session of the Congress, Hume had consulted Dufferin to ascertain his attitude toward Hume's first plan of convening a group of Indian leaders to discuss social matters. At this time it was reportedly Dufferin's suggestion that the discussions should be of a political character and that it might be helpful if the Goverment should be informed of the group's recommendations on how to improve the administration. This suggestion Dufferin requested Hume to keep confidential as long as he (Dufferin) remained in the country. (*Indian Politics* : 1898 viii) At Hume's suggestion that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bombay preside over the first session, Dufferin replied that it might be well if no public servant were associated with the organization. (Dasgupta 1946 : 137) This reply was a precursor of the policy which was later given official sanction. Dufferin remained cordial to the first two Congress sessions, and this seemed to augur well for the continuation of good will between the Government and the Congress.

Dufferin in his more liberal phase also proposed that Indian be admitted to higher grades in the Civil Service and said of reform of the Legislative Councils, "Now that we have educated these people, their desire to take a larger part in the management of their own domestic affairs must be a legitimate and reasonable aspiration, and I think there should be enough statesmanship amongst us to contrive the means of permitting them to do so without unduly compromising out Imperial supremacy". At the same time he recognized that "the objects of even the more advanced party are neither very dangerous nor very extravagant." (Lyall 1905 : 151-152) Here the ambiguity in Dufferin's position is particularly evident, since, while he was sending home recommendations for the reform of the Legislative Councils in 1888, at the same time he expressed the opinion that responsible government could not be introduced into an Indian province because the governor, if he were out-voted in his legislative council, could not "call upon the dissidents to take the place of his own official advisers, who are nominated by the queen-empress on the advice of the secretary of state". Thus he felt that nominated members of the legislative councils should outnumber elected members and that the governor should be able to override his council. (Cambridge History, VI 1932 : 542-43) This was a lucid statement of the official apprehension of representative institutions in India.

The fourth session of the Congress marked the shift in the official attitude, which thereafter remained generally hostile. It was after this session that Dufferin decided to forbid all government servants from taking any part in the proceedings of the Congress. The decision was deplored by Wedderburn as a ban on the best possible source of information available on what was happening. (Ratcliffe 1923 : 61) Dufferin's volte-face was expounded in his St. Andrew's Day Dinner Speech at Calcutta in November, 1888. What he said on this occasion has unfortunately had a greater influence on Indian thinking than any of his previous policies or pronouncements and has often been quoted as the epitomization of official opposition to the Congress. Much of later criticism which was made of the Congress was based on the objections raised by Dufferin in this speech. He questioned the applicability of parliamentary institutions to India, and referred to the Congress as a "microscopic minority," a phrase which aroused a good deal of Indian resentment. He also reversed his earlier stand and expressed disappointment that the Congress had not considered social reform on the agenda. (See Appendix)

This shift in official policy was also evidenced in another member of the Civil Service, Sir Auckland Colvin, Governor of the United Provinces. Colvin had been friendly to the Congress during its first three sessions, but at the time of the fourth session he created difficulties for the Congress in its attempts to secure official permission on a meeting place. (Besant 1915:54)

Colvin in 1888 wrote a letter to Hume protesting his political propaganda, which he regarded as premature and fraught with the danger of creating a schism into two opposing forces in a country where people could not be expected to show the restraint of criticism of a mature parliamentary system. He also charged that the pamphlets misrepresented the Government's policy. Hume, on the other hand, regarded Congress as a belated outlet for Indian aspirations. (Griffiths 1952:381) The ensuing correspondence between Colvin and Hume illumined many of the differences in the official and non-official viewpoints. Among the criticisms of Congress voiced by Colvin in this correspondence was the charge that the Moslems were opposed to the Congress and that the Congress was therefore not representative of the Indian population. Also he suggested that the Congress should occupy itself with social rather than political reform. (Wedderburn 1913:68) Hume's defence was that the political grievances could not be ignored and that the Congress was representing the interests of the majority under the leadership of the dissatisfied intellectuals. It was Hume's opinion that social reform would have to be locally adapted to conditions and could not be undertaken nationally (Dufferin's earlier view). He also levelled the counter-charge that the anti-Congress group was composed of a small group of Anglo-Indians, chiefly officials, supported by the Anglo-Indian Press. (Wedderburn 1913:71ff.) In this exchange it becomes apparent that the difference of opinion between Hume, who had identified himself with the Indian subjects, and Colvin, who represented the British ruling class, was a fundamental one and one which at this time became more crystallized as the Congress was formulating its demands.

Lord Lansdowne, who was Governor-General from December, 1888 to 1894, was less explicit in his views on the Congress than Dufferin and Colvin. On his arrival in India he declined to express his opinion on Dufferin's famous speech. (Newton 1929:56) In response to a Congress protest against an order issued by the Bengal government forbidding any official from attending the Congress even as a spectator, Lansdowne said in December, 1890 that the Congress was a legitimate movement which officials could not participate in but which they should not impede. (Besant 1915:115) Official recognition of the Congress dates from this statement. Lansdowne is further reported to have referred to the Congress as "the advanced Liberal Party in India". (Mazumdar 1917:143) Lansdowne's relative moderation at this time was also reflected in his speech on departure from India in 1894 when he said, it would be "impossible to overrate the importance of infusing new life into these Councils both by enlarging their functions and by so modifying their constitution as to include within them a certain number of members owing their appointment to the recommendation of other bodies rather than to the nomination by the Government". (Forrest 1894:25) However, Lansdowne was cautious on the extent to which the reform of the Councils should be carried out, particularly with regard to the expansion of their functions. In a despatch to Cross (Secretary of State for India) on May 25, 1889, Lansdowne and his Council supported Cross' proposals to allow the Councils the right of interpellation and added, "In our opinion the Budget should be submitted to the Legislative Council for discussion and criticism only, and that no power should be given to make a motion regarding it." (Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, LIV 1890: 4) Also it was under Lansdowne's administration that in January, 1891, censorship by a government political agent of all newspapers was imposed. (Sitaramayya 1935:109) Therefore it cannot be maintained that the policies of Lansdowne's administration were basically more favourable to the Congress than

Dufferin's, even though his public utterances were somewhat less vituperative.

The Anglo-Indian Press was generally hostile toward the Congress, particularly after the shift in official attitude occurred. For example, in January, 1889 the *Calcutta Review* warned that, "The Congress then is something more than a Political Club. It is a Revolutionary League....It is obvious that agitation is on foot which may in certain events lead to the most serious consequences to the Government and the country....(*Calcutta Review* 1889:142)

In regard to the charge that the Anglo-Indian Press was an adjunct official policy, we find it publishing such articles as "'India for the Indians', or 'India for England ?'", in which a member of the Civil Service asks, "Is the peace of India to be sacrificed to the ambition of Babudom ? Is the stability of the empire to be endangered for a set of Parliamentary Pecksniffs ?....Are we to forget the triple strife between French, Dutch and English for Hindustan ? Is Plassey to go fornothing ?" (*Calcutta Review*, 1890:34-35)

Elsewhere in the *Review* an editorial on the Congress called upon any government servants who were "committed to an open programme of sedition against the Power on which...they depend for their daily bread" to first resign their government posts. (*Calcutta Review*, 1889: 144) The charge that the Congress was seditious seems largely to hava been confined to India.

There were a few members of the Civil Service who took exception to the official antagonism toward the Congress. As has been seen in the case of Hume, however, any very consistent disavowal of official policy would be likely to lead to severance from the Service. Although Wedderburn was known to be in sympathy with Congress aspirations from the beginning, it was not until his retirement that he could act without responsibility to official circles. Sir William Hunter indicated that he was one of the few officials who regarded the Congress favourably during its early years. He evidenced his generally liberal views when he said, "The Indian National Congress is essentially the child of British rule, the product of our schools and universities. We had created and fostered the aspirations which animated the Congress, and it would be both childish and unwise to refuse now to these aspirations both our sympathy and respectful consideration". (Mazumdar 1917:143)

Another official who has been mentioned as not in agreement with governmental policy toward the Congress was Sir Henry Cotton, who deplored the effect of Dufferin's speech and attributed to it the definitive step in the schism between the Government and the Congress movement. He said, "It is from this date that the policy of alienation from the Congress movement, which all can now recognize as one of the greatest mistakes committed by past Governments...and subsequent troubles it would then have been so easy to regulate and obviate took their rise". (Cotton 1911 : 210) On the whole, however, such men as Hunter and Cotton were in the minority among officials, and their views did not carry much weight with the higher echelons.

A few of the specific criticisms which were made offficially of the Congress should perhaps be examined further.

There was first the criticism made in Dufferin's "microscopic minority" charge and by numerous other officials that the Congress was unrepresentative of the Indian population as a whole. At the first session of the Congress there were two Moslems out of a total of seventy-two delegates, and although the Moslem proportion grew to 157 out of 702 delegates in 1890, the proportion thereafter declined. In this regard, the Hiudu explanation of Moslem abstention from the Congress as the result of British policy may be noted, though there were certainly other divisive forces (i. e., economic, political and religious factors not within the scope of this study). Occupationally and geographically, it is also true that there was a disproportionally large number of Bengali lawyers. However, as K.T.Paul points out, these critics fail to take account of the traditional role of leadership of the intellectual in India, and of the Congress movement as part of the nationalist movement as a whole. (Paul 1928 : 81)

Another view commonly expressed was that Parliamentary institutions and the elective principle were not applicable to a country without a long period of democratic evolution and without an educated electorate. Although this rationalization has often been applied to various parts of the British Empire, in India it has been partially negated by subsequent developments.

The charge that the Congress was seditious cannot be taken as seriously, in view of the previously-mentioned fact that none of the early Congress leaders, British or Indian, envisioned any drastic change in the relation between England and India. It was not until late in the first decade of the twentieth century that more extreme elements appeared in the Congress leadership. The statement made by Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, that "we represent peace and a firm government, whereas anything else leads to unfathomable confusion" (Andrews and Mukerji 1939: 34) is an example of rationalization of British policy. In fact, while many of these objections were certainly partly valid, the fact that they were invoked was often due not to a desire to lend constructive help to the Congress as much as to attempt to justify a continuation of British administration in its traditional form. In any case, the problem of creating a unified Indian nation was one which ultimately the Indian had to solve.

In general, therefore, it can be said that there was a preponderance in attitude and policy of official criticism and non-official encouragement of the Congress. Further, the official reaction in England and particularly in India was more extreme than was commensurate with the character of early Congress political objectives. In many cases this reaction was based on an accumulation of emotion and traditional attitudes toward the relation between Eugland and India rather than to a judgment of the merits of specific demands of the Congress. Those who were able to adopt a more long-range view of the Congress as an inevitable necessity and one created partly by British rule were generally the ones who adopted a favourable policy toward the Congress.

It is not the function of this study to impute blame from the vantage point of historical retrospect to those official who represented the British Government in India during this period nor to underrate the British achievements in India. We have granted that ex-officials like Hume and Wedderburn, however influential in the development of the Congress in its early years, were the exception in that they were in advance of their time. And it was these men who regarded official opposition to the Congress as an inevitable development. However, perhaps we can say that if those who formulated British policy in India and in England, given the example of men like Hume and Wedderburn, had been able to develop an understanding of the nature of the Congress objectives as a facet of the Indian nationalist movement whose causes had their roots in the British Raj, some of the rancor and tension which characterized relations between India and England in the first half of the twentieth century might have been obviated.

JOICE C. LEBRA

APPENDIX

Lord Dufferin's Speech at the St. Andrews Day Dinner, Calcutta, November 30, 1888. Excerpts from Lord Dufferin, *Speeches Delivered in India, 1884-8*, (London, 1890), 237-244.

Some intelligent, loyal, patriotic and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown—by the application to India of democratic methods of government, and the adoption of a parliamentary system, which England herself has only reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation. The ideal authoritatively suggested as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will. The organization of battalions of native militia and volunteers for the internal and external defence of the country is the next arrangement suggested, and the first practical result to be obtained would be the reduction of the British army to one half its present numbers. Well, gentlemen, I am afraid that the people of England will not readily be brought to the acceptance of this programme, or to allow such an assembly, or a number of such assemblies, either to interfere with its armies, or to fetter and circumscribe the liberty of action either of the provincial governments or of the Supreme Executive. In the first place the scheme is eminently unconstitutional ; for the essence of constitutional government is that responsibility and power should be committed to the same hands. The idea of irresponsible councils, whose members could arrest the march of Indian legislation, or nullify the policy of the British executive in India, without being liable to be called to account for their acts in a way in which an opposition can be called to account in a constitutional country, must be regarded as an impracticable anomaly. Indeed, so obviously impossible would be the application of any such system in the circumstances of the case, that I do not believe it has been seriously advocated by any native statesman of the slightest weight or importance...less than one percent has any knowledge of English...it may be said that, out of a population of two hundred million, there are only a very few thousands who may be said to possess adequate qualifications, so far as education and an acquaintance with Western ideas or even Eastern learning are concerned, for taking an intelligent view of those intricate and complicated economic and political questions affecting the destinies of so many millions of men which are almost daily being presented for the consideration of the Government of India. I would ask then, how any reasonable man could imagine that the British Government would be content to allow this microscopic minority to control their administration of that majestic and multiform empire for whose safety and welfare they are responsible in the eyes of God and before the face of civilization ?...At present, however, it appears to me a groundless contention that it represents the people of India...They ought to see that all the strength, power, and intelligence of the British Government are applied to the prevention of one race, of one interest, of one class, of one religion dominating another...When the Congress was first started, I watched its operations with interest and curiosity, and I hoped that in certain fields of useful activity it might render valuable assistance to the Government. I was aware that there were many social topics connected wirh the habits and customs of the people which were of unquestionable utility, but with which it was either undesirable for the Government to interfere, or which it was beyond their power to influence or control...When Congress was first started, it seemed to me that such a body, if they directed their attention with patriotic zeal to these (social questions) and cognate subjects, as similar Congresses do in England, might prove of assistance to the Government and of great use to their fellow-citizens ; and I cannot help expressing my regret that they should seem to consider such momentous topics, concerning as they do the welfare of millions of their fellow-subjects, as beneath their notice, and that they shuld have concerned themselves instead with matters in regard to which their *assistance is likely to be less profitable to us.* (italics mine)...I do not wish at all to imply that I view with anything but favour and sympathy the desire of the educated classes of India to be more largely associated with us in the conduct of the affairs of their country. Such an ambition is not only very natural, but very worthy, provided due regard can be had to the circumstances of the country and to the conditions under which the British administration in India discharges its duties.

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The Home of the Mauryas

Ceylonese Buddhist traditions connect the Mauryas (Pālī, Moriya) with the Śākyas. The commentary on the *Mahāvaṁsa*, known as *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, states that a body of the Śākyas, frightened by the persecution of Viḍuḍabha, the King of Kośala, fled to the mountainous regions and finding there a tract of land having adequate water supply and overgrown with forest-trees like Pippali, (ficus religiosa) founded a beautiful city on it, which was adorned with various attractions such as orchards and rest-houses and protected by strong ramparts and moats. This city was built with bricks coloured like peacocks' necks and echoed with the cries of the peacocks. Hence the Śākyas who resided there came to be known as Moriyas in the whole country.[1] The *Ṭikā* suggests another explanation of the word 'moriya': the residents of the aforesaid city rejoiced at its beauty (modāpīti) and came to be known by the word for 'rejoicing', 'moda' the 'd' of which was changed into 'r' so as to form the word 'moriya'[2]. Exactly like this is the account of the origin of the Moriyas given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna known as the *Extended* or *Cambodian Mahāvaṁsa*. This work refers to the migration of the Śākyas following the attack and persecution of Viḍuḍabha to the mountainous regions where they founded the city known as Moriyanagara in the very language of the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*.[3]

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[1] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* ed. G. P. Malalasekera (P.T.S.) vol. I, p 180

तेन हि पन धरमाने येव भगवति विडुडभेन उपद्दुता केचि साकिया हिमवन्तं पविसित्वा अञ्ञतरं सलिलासयसम्पन्नं उस्सन्नपिप्पलीवनादिपादपवनेहि उपसोभितं रमणीयं भूमिभागं दिस्वा तत्थाभिनिविट्ठपेमहदया तस्मिं ठाने सुविभत्तमहापथद्वारकोट्ठकं थिरपाकारपरिखापरिक्खित्तमारामउय्यानादिविविधरामणेय्यसम्पन्नं नगरवरं मापेसुं । अपि च, तं मयूरगीवनकासच्छदानिट्ठकपासादपंतिकं च मयूरकेकानादेहि पूरितमुग्घोसितं च अहोसि । तेन तस्स नगरस्स सामिनो साकिया च तेसं पुत्तपुत्ता च सकलजंबुदीपे मोरिया नामा ति पाकटा जाता ।

[2] *Ibid*., vol. I, p. 180 मोरियानं ति अत्तानं नगरसिरिया मोदापीति एत्थ संजाता ति, दुकारस्स च रकारं कत्वा मोरिया ति लद्धवोहारानं खत्तियानं ति अत्थो ।

[3] *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* ed. G. P. Malalasekera (Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch) V 95-101, page 60

यदा सत्था तु अम्हाकं निब्बानं न पवीसति ।
साक्यराजा बहू येव तेनेव मित्तदुब्भिना ॥

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With the details given in these works agrees the version of the *Mahābodhivaṁsa.*[4] All these versions of the origin of the Moriyas (Mauryas) are based on the *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭha-kathā* as the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* lets us know.[5] This work is relegated to the first century A.D. and the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna and the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* have been assigned to the 8th-9th., 9th-10th. and 10th-11th. centuries respectively by G. P. Malalasekera.[6] Thus we find that the tradition of the Śākyan origin of the Mauryas was current in Ceylon since the dawn of the Christian era. It is, however, noteworthy that this tradition is not mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, which is the earliest Buddhist text to refer to the Moriyas.

घातिता अनुसारेन यथावुत्तेन विधिना ।
सेसा अञ्ञे पविसित्वा हिमवन्तप्पदेसकम् ॥
एमं छायुदकूपेतं ठानं एकं वुदिक्खिय ।
मापेसुं नगरं तत्थ इद्धं फीतं मनोरमम् ॥
छादिता इट्ठिकाहेव पासादपन्तियो अट्ठ ।
मयूरगीवसंकासा सुविभत्तमहापथम् ॥
द्वारकोट्ठकपाकारपरिक्खित्तं समन्ततो ।
मयूरकोंचसद्देहिऽभिरुदं नगरं सदा ॥
तेनेव पाकटं आसि मोरियनगराव्हयम् ।
रज्जं तत्थेव कारेसुँ साक्यराजा तदा पन ॥
सहेव पुत्तनत्तेहि मोरियनगरे वरे ।
जम्बूदीपे नरा सब्बे मोरराजेन अव्हयुँ ॥

In this passage the reading of the word 'mittadubbhiṇa' is very doubtful. Malalasekera gives three more variants of it, 'Vittagabbitā', 'Vitatubbhena' and 'Vitatubbhinā'. But the fact that Viḍuḍabha is intended here admits of no doubt. In VII, 19, the author clearly mentions Viḍuḍabha and his massacre of the Śākyas. Vide *Extended Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 102

परिस्सयो च अम्हाकं भविस्सति इतो परम ।
सब्बे साक्यराजानो विडूडभो हनिस्सति ॥

[4] *Mahābodhivaṁsa* ed. Strong (P.T.S.) p. 98.

[5] *Vaṁsatthappakāsini* I p. 180

यो चन्दगुत्तस्स अभिसिञ्चितकालो च अनभिसिञ्चितकालो च तेसं उभिन्नं अधिकारो च सो सब्बाकारेन उत्तरविहारअट्ठकथायं वुत्तो ।

[6] G. P. Malalasekera, *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 256; *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* (introduction), p. 52.

In some Ceylonese works the Moriyas are mentioned as a Singhalese clan.[7]

In Burmese traditions the foundation of the Maurya city (Moriya-nagara) is ascribed to the princes of Vaiśāli who had escaped from the massacre of Adzatathat (Ajātaśatru)[8]. In these traditions the princes of Vaiśāli and Ajātaśatru have been substituted for the Śākyas and Viḍuḍabha respectively.

Jain traditions connect the Mauryas with the Mayūraposakas or peacock-tamers who lived in the kingdom of the Nandas.[9] These Mayūraposakas may be connected with a tribe named Mayūraka, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[10] among the peoples living in the southern part of the Uttarāpatha division lying to the west of the Midland.[11] This tribe is described in this text as warlike and frenzied. Modern scholars have found the confirmation of the traditional association of the Mauryas with the peacock in the monuments of their period. The figure of a peacock has been found at the bottom of the pillar of Aśoka at Nandangarh[11]. In the sculptures on the Great Stūpa at Sāñci also, which are ascribed to Aśoka on the basis of the stories of his life that they represent, the peacock figures prominently[12]. An indication of the importance of the peacock in the age of Mauryas is elicited from the remarks of Aelian that peacocks were kept in the parks of the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra[13]. But the evidence of Aśoka's Rock Edict I leads to the conclusion that the Mauryas were peacock-eaters rather than peacock-tamers.[14] In the light of this internal testimony of Maurya records, the explanation of the sur-name 'maurya' through 'mayura' has only a superficial plausibility.

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[7] G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 673.

[8] Bigandet, *Life and Legend of Gautama*, II, p. 126.

[9] Hemacandra, Pariśiṣṭaparvan VIII, 229 ff. (ed. Jacobi)

चणेश्वरीकुक्षिजन्मा द्विजन्मा सोऽन्यदा ययौ ।
मयूरपोषका यत्रावात्सुर्नन्दमहीपतेः ॥

Devendragaṇin *alias* Nemicandra Sūri, *Sukhabodhā* on *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* III, 1 ed. by Vijaya Mangala Sūri Nirṇaya Sāgar Press edition (1937), p. 57.

नन्दस्स मोरपोसगा तेसिं गामे गओ परिवायगलिंगेण । तेसिं च मयहरधूयाए चंदपियणम्मि दोहलो

[10] *Mahābhārata*, II, 35.

[11] R. K. Mookerji, *Candragupta Maurya and His Times*, p. 24.

[12] J. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñci*, pp. 44, 62; A Foucher, *Monuments of Sāñci*, p. 231.

[13] J. W. M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-142.

Brāhmaṇical traditions connect the Mauryas with the Nanda family. Ratnagarbha, the commentator of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* suggests that Candragupta was the son of King Nanda by a wife named Murā, and Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, the commentator of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, adds that she was a śūdra by caste. Her son was named Maurya, who was the father of Candragupta. Mahādeva in his *Mudrārākṣasa-kathā* (ed. V. Raghavan, Madras), Ravinartaka in his *Cāṇakya-kathā* (ed. S. C. Law, Calcutta) and the author of the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* which forms a part of the commentary of Ḍhuṇḍhirāja (ed. Dasharatha Sharma, Bikaner) agree with him in this respect. Kṣemendra in his *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and Somadeva in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* call Candragupta the son of Pūrvananda, whom they do not describe as a king. Viśākhadatta in his *Mudrārākṣasa*, which is the earliest among the works noted above, no doubt, describes Candragupta as *Nandānvayaḥ* (V,5) but draws a clear distinction between his family and that of the Nandas (II,7; VI,6).[15] The import of the apparently contradictory statements of Viśākhadatta is that though Candragupta was so intimately associated with the Nanda sovereigns as to merit the epithet *nandānvayaḥ* he belonged to a separate family that had nothing to do whatsoever with the Nandas. The opinion of H. C. Ray Choudhury that the *Mudrārākṣasa* "claims a Nanda origin for the first Maurya" is manifestly erroneous.[16] The aforesaid view which lies at the basis of the *Mudrārākṣasa* constitutes a sufficient repudiation of the theories of the origin of the Mauryas from the Nanda family advanced by later Brāhmaṇical writers[17].

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[14] The meaning of the word '*mora*' occurring in R.E.I. of Aśoka is not quite certain. Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the *Bhayabheravasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* states that 'mora' signifies a bird in general [मोरगहणेन इध सब्ब पक्खी गहणं अधिप्पेतम्]. Hence it cannot be said with certainty that 'mora' in R.E.I stands for a peacock in particular. However, the absence of the peacock from the list of protected creatures in P.E. V is remarkable.

[15] *Mudrārākṣasa* II, 7 Telang's edition, p. 112

पृथिव्यां किं दग्धाः प्रथितकुलजा भूमिपतयः ।
पतिं पापे मौर्यं यदसि कुलहीनं वृतवती ॥

ibid., VI, 6, Telang's edition, p. 271

पतिं त्यक्ता देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनम् ।
गता छिद्रेण श्रीर्वृषमविनीतेव वृषली ॥

Some scholars hold that the Mauryas hailed from the north-western regions, now included in Pakistan. H. C. Seth and B. M. Barua have shown scepticism for the traditions connecting the Mauryas with Magadha.[18] The former has identified Candragupta wtih Śaśigupta, who was the chief of the Aśvakas and played an important part in the doings of Alexander the Great in India according to him. He bases his theory on the similarity of the careers and characters of these two persons. But a careful perusal of the account of the Greek writers conclusively shows that Śaśigupta was not the governor of the Assakenians or Aśvakas but was only an agent of Alexander, that he was powerless to quell the revolt of these people and that far from being on the side of the rebels he served the cause of Alexander by informing him through envoys of the state of affairs in that province. There is no evidence to prove that Śaśigupta ever espoused the cause of the Indians against Alexander. All that we know about him is that first he went over from the Indians to Bessos, the Persian Governor of Baktra and when the latter was defeated by Alexander he went over to his side and served him faithfully so as to command his confidence. These traits of the career of Śaśigupta have nothing in common with the events of the early life of Candragupta.

H. C. Seth supports his theory of the north-western origin of the Mauryas with some traditions which relate that the Mauryas went into exile as a result of the persecution of King Viḍuḍabha and founded a

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[16] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and others: *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 141.

[17] The grammatical error involved in deriving the word Maurya from Murā has been exposed by C. D. Chatterji, *Early Life of Candragupta Maurya, B. C. Law Valume*, I, p. 590 ff.

[18] H. C. Seth, *Candragupta and Śaśigupta, Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VIII, pt. 2; *Did Candragupta Maurya belong to North-Western India?*. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institue* vol. XVIII, part 2; *Candragupta Maurya aur Bhārat me Alexander Ki Parājaya* (in Hindi), pp. 87 etseq.

B. M. Barua, *Social Status of Mauryas, Indian Culture*, vol. X, part I; *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, I, p. 51, city that came to be known as Moriyanagar. The Ceylonese texts which record these traditions and are cited above say nothing to indicate that Moriyanagar was situated in the western parts of the Himalayas. But Hiuen-Tsang states on the basis of hearsay information that "in old days Pi-lu-tse-kia (Virūdhaka rāja) having led his army to attack the Śākyas, four of the tribes resisted the advance. These were driven away by their own clansmen, and each fled in a different direction."[19] One of these Śākyas went to the north-west and founded a state in Udyāna on the bank of the river Swat. This person married the daughter of Nāgarāja, who lived there, and with his help killed the king of Udyāna and siezed his throne. After the death of this person, his son U-ta-lo-si-na (Uttarasena) ascended the throne and once when he was out for hunting, Buddha came to his house and told his mother that her son belonged to his family and that he should take a part of his ashes after his death amidst the Sāla trees of Kuśinagar. On returning home Uttarasena preceeded to Kuśinagar and succeeded in getting a portion of Buddha's relics with difficulty. "The kings of other countries treated him scornfully and were unwilling to give him a share of the much prized relics they were taking to their own countries. On this a great assembly of Devas acquainted them with Buddha's wishes, on which the kings divided the relics equally, beginning with him."[20]

This tradition nowhere says that the person who founded the state in Udyāna was of Maurya family. But if it is assumed that he did belong to that family since the account of his exile as a result of the persecution of Pi-lu-tse-kia agrees with that of the Mauryas given in the Ceylonese texts cited above, it is unsafe to place implicit reliance on these traditions in view of their being very late in origin. Besides this, there are glaring discrepancies in the account of the apportionment of the relics of Buddha in the narrative of Hiuen-Tsang and the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*. In the former the Śākya exiles were the first to receive the relics whereas according to the latter they came too late to get the relics and had to content themselves with the ashes. Hence the evidence of Hiuen-Tsang cannot be relied upon in this matter. We know for certain that the Maurya empire embraced the whole of north-western regions and that the branches of the Maurya family ruled over some states of these territories notably Kāśmīra, Khotan and the Indus-valley even after the decline of the central authority at Pāṭaliputra. After the adoption of Buddhism by Aśoka the entire resources of this vast empire were harnessed to the drive of Buddhist propaganda in the north-west. In the wake of Buddhist bhikṣus and Maurya Mahāmātras, the legends and traditions current in the Buddhist world travelled in the north-west and got a local colouring there. It is, therefore, necessary to determine the original forms of these north-western versions before drawing any conclusion from them. In this particular case, we find that the bulk of authentic historical evidence militates against the legend recorded by Hiuen-Tsang.[21]

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[19] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 128.

[20] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 133.

As regards the argument of H. C. Seth that Śakuni, whom the *Rājataraṅginī*, represents as the great-grandfather of Aśoka, is the same as Śakuni of Gandhāra famed in the *Mahābhārata*, it is manifestly untenable in view of the fact that Śakuni is not an exclusive designation of Gandharian princes and occurs in the Purāṇic list of Videhan kings as well.[22]

B. M. Barua bases his theory of the north-western origin of Candragupta Maurya on the fact that his education, military training and alliances were all in that part of India and that some of Aśoka's scribes were habituated to Kharoṣṭhi and a few of his artists were versed in the traditions of Persepolis. He lays emphasis on the fact that the Greek writers did not connect Candragupta with the Maurya family.

These arguments are so lightly developed that we need not discuss them in detail. The trend of the history of Candragupta was such that he had to leave his birth-place and seek his fortune hundreds of miles away. His activities in the north-west by no means disprove his eastern origin. Likewise the influence of Persian art and Kharoṣṭhī script on the art and writing of the Maurya period does not suggest that the founder of the Maurya dynasty hailed from the north-west. As for the evidence of Greek writers, it is too meagre and scanty to warrant any conclusion regarding the origin of the Mauryas.

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[21] Fa-hien refers to the visit paid by Buddha to Puruṣapura. He states that when Buddha was travelling in this country with his disciples, he said to Ānanda, 'after my parinirvāṇa, there will be a king named Kaniṣka, who shall on the spot build a tope' [James Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 33]. Writing about Woo-chang or Udyāna Fa-hien states: 'there is a tradition that when Buddha came to North-India, he came at once to this country and that here he left a print of his foot, which is long or short according to the ideas of the beholder [*ibid.*, p. 29]. But Fa-hien does not say anything about the tradition of the meeting of Buddha with Uttarasena.

[22] *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, 89, 29.

R. K. Mookerji[23] holds that the Moeres or Moricis, mentioned by Greek writers, correspond to the Mauryas. Should this view be correct, it would not only cut at the root of his own theories, but would also amount to locating the Mauryas in the delta of the Sindh. But Curtius, who refers to Moeres, describes it as the name or title of the king of the territory of Patala and says nothing to suggest that it was the name of a tribe. J. W. M'Crindle[24] equates this word with 'mahārāja'. Thus no theory of the non-Magadhan origin of the Mauryas can be woven on this word.

The aforesaid discussion of the theories of the origin of the Mauryas shows that those of the north-western origin of these people are baseless, those connecting them with the family of the Nandas are fallacious and those associating them with the tribe of the peacock-tamers are superficial. Thus we are left with the theory of the Śākyan origin given in the Ceylonese Buddhist texts that have been cited at the beginning. Let us, therefore, examine how far it is historically correct and acceptable.

The *Kalpa-sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu informs us that Mahāvīra had eleven gaṇadharas. The eldest was Indabhūï (Indrabhūti) then followed Aggibhūï (Agnibhūti), Vāubhūï (Yāyubhūti), Viyatta (Vyakta), Suhamma (Sudharman), Maṇḍiya (Maṇḍita), Moriyaputta (Mauryaputra), Akampiya (Akampita), Ayalabhāyā (Acalabhṛātṛi) Meijja (Metārya) and Pabhāsa (Prabhāsa). These gaṇadharas were all Brāhmaṇa teachers and all except Indrabhūti and Sudharman died during the life-time of Mahāvīra. The sixth gaṇadhara Maṇḍita belonged to the Vāśiṣṭha gotra and the seventh Mauryaputra was of the Kāśyapa gotra. Both of these gaṇadharas were the residents of Moriya sannivesa[25], which was situated in Magadha.[26]

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[23] R. K. Mookerji, *Candragupta Maurya and his Times*, p. 24.

[24] J. W. Mc'Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 256.

[25] *Kalpasūtra* VIII, 1·4; *Sacred Books of the East*, XXII, p. 286.

Early Buddhist literature refers to a place Moliyagāma, which evidently represents 'Moriyagāma' or the Moriya sannivesa of Jaina texts. It the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya* mention is made of a monk who went to Moliyagāma for alms[27]. In the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the *Saṁyuttanikāya* a paribbājaka (parivrājaka) named Moliyasīvaka is mentioned[28]. He is stated to have visited Buddha at Veḷuvana and questioned him regarding predestination after which he became a convert to Buddhism. The name Moliyasīvaka perhaps suggests that this monk was a resident of the place known as Moliyagāma or Moriya sannivesa.

Thus we observe that Moriya, Moliya (Maurya) was the name of a place in Magadha which roughly corresponds to the modern Patna district of Bihar. As B. C. Law observes: "the kingdom or country roughly corresponding to the modern Patna and Gayā districts of Behar was broadly divided into two khettas: Gaya and Magadha from a religious and may be also from a fiscal point of view. In the *Jambudīva-puṇṇatti* the latter is distinctly called *Māgaha-tittha-khetta*."[29] In the west and north Magadha was bounded by the Gangā and in the east it was bordered by the river Champā. Near Rājagṛha, the ancient capital of Magadha, there was a place called 'Moranivāpa', which may be reminiscent of a name connected with Moriya.[30]

Moriya is described as a *sannivesa* which according to the commentator of the *Kalpasūtra* means a halting place for the caravans.[31] Hence Moriya must have been situated along a route of Magadha by which caravans used to pass. Being thus situated it was the place of residence of many wealthy traders and merchants. The *Bhagavatisūtrā* refers to a rich merchant named Tāmali Moriyaputta.[32] B.C. Law holds that he was apparently a citizen of Tamalitti (Tamralipti).[33] But his surname suggests that originally he belonged to Moriya in Magadha and later on settled in Tāmralipti for purposes of trade, which perhaps gave him his name Tāmali. In this way we find that the place named Moriya was peopled by men of all castes and callings including brāhmaṇas, parīvrājakas and vaiśyas. Was it founded by the Śākyas who branched off from their parent body to escape the persecution of Viḍuḍabha?

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[26] *Āvassaya-nijjhutti* (Āvaśyaka-Niryukti) (Āgamodaya Samiti edition), p. 645.

[27] *Manorathapūranī* (P.T.S.), Vol. I, p. 398.

[28] *Aṅguttaranikāya* (P.T.S.), vol. III, p. 356; *Saṁyuttanikāya* (P.T.S.), vol. IV, p. 230.

[29] B. C. Law, *India as described in Early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 45.

[30] B. C. Law, *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 58), pp. 1ff.

[31] H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras* (*Sacred Books of the East*) vol. 22, introduction, p. 22.

We know that Buddha passed away at the age of eighty. In the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (II, 3) he is said to have told Subhadra just before his death that he took *pravrajyā* at the age of twenty nine and fifty one years had passed since then. In his eightieth year he had an interview with king Pasenḍi (Prasenajit) of Kośala in course of which the latter remarked that both of them were eighty years old as the *Dhamma-cetīya-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (II, 2, 9) states. At that time Prasenajit was the reigning king of Kośala and Dīgha (Dīrgha) Cārāyana was his Chief-minister. The king took Dīrghacārāyaṇa with him to Medalumpa (?), the town of the Sākyas, where Buddha was staying and before entering the monastery handed over his sword and crown to him and walked inside alone. This minister was the son of the sister of Bandhula, at first the Commander-in-chief and then the Chief Justice of Kośala, whom Prasenajit had got treacherously assassinated on the ground of a flimsy rumour of conspiracy. Hence he was full of malice for that king and had entered into a secret pact with his son Viḍuḍabha with the object of avenging the death of his maternal uncle on him. Hence leaving the king in conversation with Buddha, he rushed back to Śrāvasti with the insignia of royalty to coronate Viḍuḍabha. When the king came out and learnt of the revolt, he proceeded towards Rājagṛha to seek succour from his son-in-law Ajātaśatru and punish the rebels. But in the way he had an attack of diarrhoea and expired at the gate of Rājagṛha. Viḍuḍabha ascended the throne and instantly marched on Kapilavastu to punish the Śākyas for marrying Vāsabhakhattiyā, born of a slave girl, to his father and thus debasing his maternal descent. On learning of the expedition Buddha went to Kapilavastu and his presence deterred the invader from attacking the Śākyas and forced him to retrace his steps. Thrice did the king lead the expedition against the Śākyas but everytime he was overwhelmed by the presence of Buddha near Kapilavastu and retreated to his capital as we learn from the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakatha* (IV, 3). Fa-hien also refers to the intervention of Buddha in the invasion of the Śākyas by Viḍuḍabha: "Four li south-east from the city of Śrāvasti, a tope has been erected at the place where the world-honoured one encountered king Virūdhaka (Viḍuḍabha) when he wished to attack the kingdom of Shay-e and took his stand before him at the side of the road."[34] But the fourth time when Viḍuḍabha launched the attack, Buddha was no more to dissuade him from his bloody design. Hence he fell upon the Śākyas and wrought terrible havoc among them. All these events took place in the eightieth year of the life of Buddha, since in that year he received Prasenajit as a king after whose deposition and death Viḍuḍabha attacked the Śākyas and in the same year he passed away at Kuśinagar. If the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*,[35] on which the above account is based, is to be trusted, the absence of Buddha from the land of the Śākyas, when Viḍuḍabha launched his attack fourth time, was due to his incapacity to go there. It appears that his intervention led Viḍuḍabha to give up his plan of invading Kapilavastu for the time being. But when he had passed away Viḍuḍabha found the field free to invade or exterminate the Śākyas. Had he done so in the life-time of Buddha, the latter should have referred to it in his last discourses recorded in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* for this was a subject in which he was particularly interested. Besides this, the Śākyas appear as the claimants of a portion of the last remains of Buddha after his death. Thus the conclusion becomes irresistible that Viḍuḍabha invaded the Śākyas after the demise of Buddha. But just after the Great Decease we find the Moriyas of Pipphalivana among the claimants of the remains of Buddha on the basis of a common Kṣatriya caste along with the Śākyas. Hence it is quite impossible that the Moriyas came into existence as a result of the separation of a body of the Śākyas from the main clan and their migration to the sub-montane tract known as Pipphalivana, with a view to escaping the persecution of Viḍuḍabha.

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[32] *Bhagvātisūtra* (Agamodaya Samiti edition), III, 1.

[33] B. C. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 37.

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[34] James Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 62-63.

[35] *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*,. Book IV, Story III, English translation by E. W, Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends* (Harvard Oriental Series), vol. 29, pp. 30-46; Hindi translation by Rahula Sāṅkrityāyana, *Buddha-caryā*, pp. 473-480,

The evidence of the Pali texts cited above clearly shows that Viḍuḍabha's three expeditions against the Śākyas were launched in the same year in which Buddha passed away. Is it not likely that the fourth expedition, on the eve of which Buddha could not be present at Kapilavastu, occurred before his death, though in the same year, so as to allow the necessary time to the Moriyas to separate from the Śākyas and make their appearance at the last rites of their illustrious kinsman? It has been shown above that the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* leads us to a conclusion that runs counter to such an argument. Besides this, there are some more weighty considerations which make this reasoning quite untenable. It has been stated above that two of the Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra, Maṇḍitā and Mauryaputra belonged to Moriya (Maurya) sanniveśa. Both of them are said to have died during the life-time of Mahāvīra. Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries. Though scholars differ as to who of them predeceased whom, the fact that a major part of their lives was spent in the same period goes without doubt. Hence these two Gaṇadharas lived in the life-time of Buddha also. That is to say, the residents of Moriya sanniveśa, who are apparently the same as Mauryaputras or Mauryas lived more than one year before the death of Buddha. Hence the hypothesis of their coming into existence in the year of the death of Buddha is out of the question.

We have seen that Moriya sanniveśa was inhabited by people of all castes and classes. Brāhmaṇas of different gotras and merchants lived there. They used the surname Mauryaputra irrespective of the differences of their callings. It is no wonder that the Kśatriyas belonging to that place set up their claim to a share of Buddha's ashes on the basis of a common caste.

As regards the location of Maurya (Moriya) we know that it was in Magadha. Hence we should search for its site in the Patna district. The *Gazetteer* of the Patna district informs us that 287 miles from Calcutta on the East-Indian Railway is a station named More (Mor)[36]. Professor Syed Hasan Askarī of Patna college has let me know that this place was visited by the Englishman John Marshall in the third week of April 1670 and he referred to it as Mohore in his diary that has been edited by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. This place is near Mokameh, which is mentioned by Marshall as Mokoia. Prof. Askari writes that More is an important place having a tank and peepul groves and abounding in old mounds. If the tank represents the site of the old lake, the peepul groves may be taken to refer to the peepul forest, Pippalivana, which is invariably associated with the town of the Mauryas in ancient literature. As a matter of fact, peepul trees grow so abundantly in Patna district that many sites bear names based on Peepul or Pipphali. At the southern foot of the Baibhar hill is a place named peepul stone house.[37] Behind it is a cavern that has been identified by Cunningham with Asura's cave. The Pipphali cave is also mentioned in *Udāna* and *Dīghanikāya* and the travels of Fa-hien[38]

This place 'More' represent the Moriya town of Jaina and Buddhist literature, which was the home of the Mauryas.

Modern scholars have sought to idenify the site of Moriyanagar by locating Pippalivana. B. C. Law finds an echo of the name Pippalivana in Piprāvā, a village in the Birdpur estate in the district of Basti[39] and Rahula Sānkrityāyana identifies it with the place called Piparia, near Rampurva at the Narkatiyaganj station in Champaran district.[40] H. C. Raychoudhury takes a clue to the identification of Pippalivana from the site of the Embers' Tope, which the Mauryas are stated to have built over the ashes of Buddha according to the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*. Fa-hien says that four yojanas to the east of the Tope of Rāma was the place where the heir-apparent sent back

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[36] *Bihar and Orissa district Gazetteer* (*Patna*), by L.S.S. O' Malley, revised by J. F. W. James, p. 237.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 229. Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, p. 156.

[38] *Udāna* I, 6; III, 7; *Dighanikāya* II, p. 116. James Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 85.

[39] B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 29; *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 56; *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 111-112.

[40] Rahula Sānkrityāyana, *Buddhacaryā* (in Hindi), p. 596.

Chandaka with his white horse and four yojanas to the east from this place was the Charcoal Tope (Ashes Tope) where there was also a monastery. Going on 12 yojanas still to the east, one came to the city of Kuśanagar which is identical with Kasia in the Gorakhpur district.[41] Fa-hien says nothing to indicate that the charcoal tope represented the site of the Maurya capital. Hiuen-Tsang specifically gives the lie to such an assumption. "To the south-east of the head shaving stūpa", he writes, "in the middle of a desert, going 180 or 190 li, we come to a Nyagrodha grove in which there is a stūpa about 30 feet high. Formerly when Tathāgata had died and his remains had been divided, the Brāhmaṇas who had obtained none, came to the place of cremation, and taking the remnant of coal and cinders to their native country, built this stūpa over them and offered their religious services to it. Since then wonderful signs have occurred in this place, sick persons who pray and worship here are mostly cured."[42] Thus it is clear that according to Hiuen-Tsang the so-called Ashes Tope was constructed by the Brāhmaṇas rather than the Moriyas. Besides this, Hiuen-Tsang locates this tope in the Nyagrodhavana rather than the Pippalivana. There is no suggestion whatsoever that the site of this tope abounded in peepul trees. Therefore, the assumption of H. C. Raychoudhury that this tope was identical with that constructed by the Moriyas over the ashes of Buddha has no leg to stand upon and his identification, on this ground, of the city of the Moriyas with some place between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district[43] is very dubitable.

The upshot of the above discussion is that the identifications of Pippalivana proposed by the aforesaid scholars are conjectural. There is nothing to show that Piprava and Piparia are noted for peepul groves, and there is no topographical or monumental evidence to connect them with the Mauryas. Likewise the location of the city of the Mauryas near Gorakhpur is doubtful. In fact, the Mauryas hailed from the place which is now represented by the town More in Patna district. This town existed before the death of Buddha and produced eminent teachers and traders mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist literature. The Kṣatriyas[44] of this place were destined to rule over almost the whole of the country and produce men like Candragupta and Aśoka. They immortalised the name of their parent town by using it as their surname. But they had no connection whatsoever with the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. The tradition of their being a branch of the Śākyas is the fabrication of later Buddhist monks who were out to invent some connection between their Dharmāśoka and their great Master.

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[41] James Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 69-70.

[42] Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II p. 31.

[43] H. C. Ray Choudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition pp. 194, 267.

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[44] That the Mauryas were Kṣatriyas is conclusively proved by the evidence of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical texts. The *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*, the Ceylonese Chronicles, the *Divyāvadāna* etc. state that the Mauryas were मूर्धाभिषिक्त क्षत्रिय । Even the Brāhmaṇical writer Kṣemendra connects Aśoka the Maurya King, with the solar family of the Kṣatriyas. Cf. *Avadānakalpalatā* V, 2 सौर्य-मौर्य-महावंश-पंचानन श्रीमदशोकदेवः

Some Characteristics of the Ancient Vṛttis on the Aṣṭādhyāyī

It was the most popular practice of the grammarians to compose Vṛttis on Sūtras. These Vṛttis were composed mainly to disclose the sense of the Sūtras as is remarked by Haradatta सूत्रार्थप्रधानोग्रन्थोवृत्तिः (Padamañjarī). It can also be presumed that the Vṛttis were written before other kinds of commentaries viz. Bhāṣya etc. for unless the sense of the Sūtras is disclosed through the help of the Vṛttis, it is neither possible to criticise the character of the Sūtras (which is the function of the Vārttikas) nor to refute the objections raised by critics (the chief function of the Bhāṣyas).

The Vṛttis are essential to disclose the sense of the Sūtras because the Sūtras are composed with the fewest words and thus many factors remain unexpressed in them. A Sūtra is regarded as सोपस्कार i.e. its sense should be understood with the help of उपस्कार । It is generally regarded as such a proposition whose sense can be fulfilled by adding to it some essential factors (function of उपस्कार) which are not laid down in the text of the Sūtra (Pradīpa 6/1/1 and 1/4/13).

Patañjali also knew this fact and he remarked that व्याख्यान is essential for the comprehension of a Sūtra. He further told that this व्याख्यान does not only constitute चर्चापद (i.e. पदच्छेद) but also the examples, counter-examples and supplying of the factor wanting in the sentence. It appears that this व्याख्यान is nothing but the Vṛtti on the Aṣṭādhyāyī for a Vṛtti comprises all these factors.

We know that composition of the Vṛttis on Sūtras before other kinds of commentatorial literature is common in other Śāstras also. Thus for an example we find that Bodhāyana wrote his Vṛtti on the Vedānta-Sūtras before the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkarācārya. The same is the case with the Pūrvamīmāṅsā Sūtra, for Upavarṣa wrote his Vṛtti at first on the Sūtras of Jaimini.

A synopsis of the materials, contained in the Vṛttis on the Pāṇinian Sūtras, is as follows:—

(i) Discussion on अधिकार. Commenting on the Sūtra 7/4/24 Patañjali remarks नैतदन्वाख्येयम् अधिकारा अनुवर्तन्ते, on which Kaiyaṭa shows a particular function of the Vṛttis as वार्त्तिककारेण नैतदन्वाख्येयम्, सर्वाधिकाराणामन्वाख्यानप्रसंगात्। वृत्तिकारास्तु, अधिकाराणां प्रवृत्ति-निवृत्ती व्याचक्षते (Pradīpa).

(ii) Discussion on पदच्छेद। The most important duty of the Vṛtti is to show the पदच्छेद of the Sūtras. Unless the पदच्छेद is done, it is not possible to comprehend the sense of a Sūtra and this is the only factor, which can determine the sense and function of any Sūtra. A good example of पदच्छेद of the ancient Vṛttis is shown by Kaiyaṭa. On Sūtra एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् (6/3/76) he said that the ancient Vṛttis accepted the आदेश as आदुक् though Patañjali holds it as अदुंक्।

(iii) Another important function of these Vṛttis is to set forth appropriate examples of the Sūtras. Thus we find Patañjali to say यत् तदस्य योगस्य मूर्धाभिषिक्तमुदाहरणं तदपि संगृहीतं भवति, किं पुनस्तत् ? पट्व्या मृद्व्या (Bh. 1/1/50). These मूर्धाभिषिक्त उदाहरणs are nothing but the examples reproduced in all the Vṛttis (मूर्धाभिषिक्तमिति सर्ववृत्तिषु उदाहृतत्वात्—Pradīpa). It is a matter for consideration as to why these examples are reproduced in all the Vṛttis. Perhaps these examples throw light for the comprehension of the character of the function of the Sūtras or these possess some popularity.

(iv) Not only the examples but the counter-examples (प्रत्युदाहरणs) are also given in these Vṛttis. These counter-examples no doubt possess greater significance otherwise Patañjali would not ponder over the value of these प्रत्युदाहरणs. Thus we find that in, the Bhāṣya of the Sūtra अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ (1/1/56), Patañjali said अच इति किमर्थम् ? प्रश्नो विश्नः. On this Kaiyaṭa says वार्त्तानि (i.e. प्रत्युदाहरणानि) प्रत्युदाहरणानि कानिचित् शक्यप्रतिविधानानि (Pradīpa) i.e. Patañjali intended to refute the counter-examples of the ancient Vṛttis. Here Nāgeśa showed a particular responsibility of the author of the Vṛttis as प्रत्युदाहरणादिचिन्ता वृत्तिकाराणामुचिता नतु भाष्यकृतः (Uddyota).

(v) We have already said that the main function of the Vṛttis is to explain the Sūtras. No doubt these Vṛttis contained the full sense of the Sūtras. In many places Patañjali reproduced these सूत्रार्थs and judged the soundness of the views of the Vṛttikāras. Thus while commenting on Sūtra न बहुव्रीहौ (1/1/28) Patañjali says न खलु अवश्यं सर्वादयन्तस्यैव प्रतिषेधेन भवितव्यं, किं तर्हि ? असर्वाद्यन्तस्यापि भवितव्यम्। Here two distinct views are referred to. The first view (i.e. न खलु अवश्यम्...etc) is of an ancient Vṛtti as is clearly remarked by Nāgeśa भाष्ये वृत्तिकारोक्तं सूत्रार्थमाह न खल्वपि इति (Uddyota).

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(vi) These ancient Vṛttis even contained the Gaṇapāṭhas also. Bhartṛhari in his Dīpikā remarked as 'अतो गणपाठ एव ज्यायान् अस्यापि वृत्तिकृतः'[2] (1/1/38), which proves that these Vṛttikāras framed the Gaṇapāṭhas intentionally.

(vii) It appears that there was also the discussion of utility of Vyākaraṇa in these Vṛttis. Vṛttis are defined as सूत्रविवरणम् (Nyāsa) and Kaiyaṭa said that Patañjali was विवरणकार. Now विवरण should constitute प्रयोजन of a Śāstra (भाष्यकारो विवरणकारत्वात् व्याकरणस्य साक्षात् प्रयोजनमाह (Pradīpa) and so it is quite reasonable to conclude that the Vṛttikāras discussed the utility of Vyākaraṇa also. As to why the Bhāṣya is called as विवरण, has been discussed elsewhere.

(ix) In some cases these Vṛttis showed their respective opinions. Śrīpati commenting on the *Kātantra Pariśiṣṭa* said 'निर्लुरवृत्तौ चोक्तम्-भाषायामपि यङ्लुगस्तीति which supports the above conclusion. Apart from opinions they also contained different viewpoints as will be seen later on. Kumārila in his Tantra-Vārttika showed the duty of a Vṛttikāra as प्रसिद्धहानिः शब्दानाम् अप्रसिद्धे च कल्पना, न कार्या वृत्तिकारेण सति सिद्धार्थसंभवे, (1/1/1)

Now we are going to assay the material of these ancient Vṛttis in comparison to that of the Mahābhāṣya and other works. The term 'ancient' means the old Vṛttis to which reference is found in the Bhāṣya, the Kāśikā or the Pradīpa. We get names of various Vṛttis viz. चुल्लि etc. (mentioned in the works like Nyāsa etc.) but at present we cannot ascertain whether they were composed before the Bhāṣya. But it can doubtlessly be presumed that these Vṛttis are mainly based on pre-Patañjalian Vṛttis, though they might have been composed after Patañjali. At the end of the paper we will discuss some principles by which it may be possible to ascertain the opinions of the pre-Patañjalian Vṛttis from the Bhāṣya.

(i) The first thing regarding the relation between these ancient Vṛttis and the Mahābhāṣya, is that in some places Patañjali rejected the examples of these Vṛttis for some hidden purpose i.e. Patañjali put such examples which could throw much light on the function of a Sūtra. Thus we find that while commenting on the Sūtra यमरमनमातां सक् च (7/2/73) Patañjali said किमुदाहरणम् ? अयंसीत् अनंसीत्. As to why Patañjali began his discussion with the examples of the Sūtra, Kaiyaṭa offered the following explanation—वृत्तिकारैरेकवचनान्तानि उदाहरणानि उपन्यस्तानि, तत्र विशेषं सगिढो रबुध्वा पृच्छति (Pradīpa). This shows that the examples, given by the Vṛttikāras, are not sometimes quite appropriate and this is why Patañjali rejected the older examples (used in singular number) and set forth those very words using in other numbers so that they would be mcre accurate.

Other commentators also showed some faults in the examples of these Vṛttis. The best example of this fault may be seen in the Pradīpa on the Vārttika पदलोपश्च on the Sūtra कर्मवत् कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः (3/1/87). The statement of the Pradīpa runs thus यत्तु लूयते केदारः स्वयमेव इति वृत्तिकारैरुदाह्रियते, तत्र कर्तन्तराभावप्रतिपादनेन केदारस्यैव कर्तृत्वप्रतिपादनाय स्वयं शब्दः प्रयुज्यते। नत्वेतत् कर्मवद्भावस्योदाहरणम्, स्वयं शब्दस्य आत्मनेति तृतीयान्तार्थे वर्तनात् आत्मनः कर्तृत्वे केदारस्य प्राकृतकर्मत्वसद्भावात्’.

(ii) It is generally found that Patañjali is very fond of using various subtle logical principles for the exposition of the Sūtras. It is the common practice of Patañjali to refute the Sūtras or the ancient examples etc., with the help of such logical rules, which are not usually adopted by other exponents. Due to his love for applying the logical principles, his Bhāṣya is rightly reckoned as सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने (Vākyapadīya 2/485).

But unlike the tendency of Patañjali ancient Vṛttikāras explain or accept any view-point or any Sūtra in a very common manner. It was their general principle to explain the Sūtras in a easy and clear manner without any hair-splitting discussion with the help of subtle logical principles, or abstract conceptions. The exposition of the Vṛttis and the Bhāṣya on the Sūtra एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् (6/3/76) may be taken as an example of this kind. Here the ancient Vṛttis accepted the आदेश as आदुक्, because then only the process of function of this Sūtra becomes easier but Patañjali held it as अदुक् taking recourse to a subtle logical principle (अकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्यात् पररूपं भवति). This shows that Patañjali was eager to make brevity while the ancient Vṛttikāras were eager to make the function of the Sūtras easier.

(iii) In some cases it is found that Patañjali accepted only that view of the ancient Vṛttis, which he deemed as logically sound, although there are different views of different ancient Vṛttis. In such cases he only judged the soundness of logical standpoints of the views without paying any heed to their chronological importance. The Bhāṣya on Sūtra एङ् प्राचां देशे (1/1/74) is a good example of this kind. Two ancient Vṛttikāras held two different views regarding the significance of the word प्राचाम् of this Sūtra, as is distinctly shown by

Kaiyaṭa (one of Kuṇi and other's name is not known). The *Kāśikā* also refers to many views of ancient Vṛttis with the name अपराव्रृत्ति (Vide Sūtras 5/1/50, 5/1/94 etc). Patañjali here accepted the view of Kuṇi, for the logical principle accepted by Kuṇi is stronger in comparison to that of the other.

(iv) While commenting on the Sūtra 6/4/163 Nāgeśa said अत्र केचित्-इदं भाष्यं न सूत्रप्रत्याख्यानपरं, किंतु वृत्त्याद्युक्तोदाहरणेषु अन्यथासिद्धिप्रतिपादनपरम् (Uddyota). This clearly shows that in some cases if we closely judge the conclusion of Patañjali, we can also judge the validity of some examples of these ancient Vṛttis.

It should be noted in passing that in later grammatical literature, senses of the Sūtras and their examples as given by these ancient Vṛttis were sharply criticised and judged.

(v) It is the most interesting fact that the commentators, who doubtlessly accept the authority of Patañjali, had followed the views of these ancient Vṛttis disregarding Patañjali even. As for example we can recall the opinion of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita on the Sūtras अमे·मुखम्, अपाच्च (6/2/185-186). Here the opinion of the *Kāśikā* is not in accordance to the Bhāṣya, but Dīkṣita accepted the view of the ***Kāśikā*** rejecting the Bhāṣya. We cannot understand why Dīkṣita rejected the view of Patañjali in this particular place, though in other places he discarded all the anti-Bhāṣya-views of other authorities, strictly following the Bhāṣya.

(vi) In some Sūtras, the opinion of the Vārttika is also at variance with that of the Vṛttis. Like the Bhāṣya the Vārttikas are also full of subtle logical principles. We know that it is the duty of the Vārttika to judge the significance of the Sūtra with the help of logical doctrines, but the Vṛttis hardly accept any subtle logical ground for the exposition of the Sūtra. In the Pradīpa, on the Sūtra संज्ञायां जन्याः (4/4/82) it is stated that the ancient Vṛttis here accepted the Sūtra 4/4/82 as a निपातन Sūtra, but the Vārttika says जन्या इति निपातनानर्थक्यं पञ्चमीनिर्देशात्. Here if we accept the view of the Vārttika (i.e. the Sūtra is a विधि) we are to fall in the fault of प्रतिपत्तिगौरैव and so the ancient Vṛttis thought it better to interpret the Sūtra as a निपातन सूत्र This instance also indicates that the exposition of the ancient Vṛttis was more plausible and easier in comparison to that of the Vārttikas.

(vii) In many places Patañjali asked as किमिहोदाहरणम् ? i. e. what is the example of this place? The peculiar construction of this sentence denotes that here Patañjali is going to reproduce an example, which was present in pre-Patañjalian works. Moreover we think that the examples, given after asking किमिह्योदाहरणम्, originally belong to the ancient Vṛttis. Take the Bhāṣya of the Sūtra क्षेपे (2/1/46). Here the Bhāṣya says किमुदाहरणम्? अवतप्ते नकुलस्थित' त एतत्. Here the proper example is अवतप्ते नकुलस्थितम् and the words 'त एतत्' have nothing to do with the example though all of them construct a sentence. We think that such kinds of examples were given in the ancient Vṛttis and Patañjali reproduced them due to their popularity. In this connection we can judge the example of the Sūtra उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः (2/1/54). Here Bhāṣya says किं पुनरिह्योदाहरणम्? Now according to the aforesaid conclusion the example शस्त्रीश्यामा should belong to a pre-Patañjalian work, and we find that it is so for there is a Vārttika on this Sūtra (न वा श्यामत्वस्य—etc) containing the word श्याम (i.e. the word शस्त्रीश्यामा). Thus it is clear that Patañjali had the example शस्त्रीश्यामा in his mind, which was originally shown in the Vārttikas (a pre-Patañjalian work) and this is why he set forth the example after saying as किमुदाहरणम्. The examples given after the question किमुदाहरणम् are of greater value, and I propose to deal with this question in a separate paper to be published shortly.

(viii) We have seen that the opinions of these ancient Vṛttis are sometimes at variance with those pertaining to some grammatical functions. Now we will see that in some cases, the reading of the Sūtras as accepted by various Vṛttikāras is not the same.

The Sūtra एतदोन् (5/3/5) is an example of this kind. Here Kaiyaṭa says इह केचिदशं पठन्ति, केचिद् अनम् (Pradīpa). The term केचित् of the first sentence is explained as वृत्तिकृतः (Uddyota). Now if the first view is of some Vṛttikāra, the second view may also be deemed as of the same character. Again the same fact is found in the Sūtra दानीं च (5/3/18).

As to why such variant readings were accepted by various Vṛttikāras, nothing can definitely be concluded at present. Kaiyaṭa offered an explanation for such variants of the Sūtra ल्यपि लघुपूर्वस्य (6/4/56) as under केचिदाचार्येन ल्यपि लघुपूर्वस्येति षष्ठ्यन्तमध्यापिताः, अन्ये लघुपूर्वादिति पञ्चम्यन्तम् (Pradīpa). Such an explanation is also offered by Patañjali on Sūtra आकडारादेका संज्ञा (1/4/1). He says उभयथा ह्याचार्येण शिष्याः सूत्रं प्रतिपादिताः केचिदाकडारादेका संज्ञेति, केचित् प्राक् कडारात् परं कार्यमिति. Such remarks are also found in other places. Obviously these are

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the readings of different Vṛttikāras for पदच्छेद is the main factor of the Vṛttis.

From the above dissertation, we can plainly draw the conclusion that though all the ancient Vṛttis have been lost in toto, yet we can ascertain some opinions and actual expressions of these ancient Vṛttis from the available works. Here some principles are laid down for this purpose.

(1) In all probability, the examples given after the question किमिहोदाहरणम् or the examples considered seriously by Patañjali belong to the ancient Vṛttis.

(2) Various पदच्छेदs are also borrowed from these Vṛttis.

(3) If there are various opinions regarding the significance of any word of a Sūtra, it is quite possible that they were originally present in these Vṛttis.

(4) Similar is the conclusion in the cases where there is difference of opinion about the function of a Sūtra.

(5) Similarly it may be said that most of the variant readings were originally shown or accepted by various Vṛttikāras.

R. S. BHATTACHARYA

"Rhinoceros-Slayer" Type of Coins of Kumāragupta I

(Its Historical Significance)

The recently found Bayana, or more precisely the Hullanpura, hoard[1] has revealed many new types of gold coins of the Gupta emperors. One of them is the "Rhinoceros-Slayer" type of Kumāragupta I. Only four[2] coins of this type have been found in this hoard and a fifth one has been acquired by the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.[3] The type has been described by Dr. A. S. Altekar as follows[4]: —

Obverse—"King bare-headed, with flowing frizzled locks (*alaka*) on head, riding on a caparisoned horse to r., wearing button coat, waist-band and trousers, leaning forward attacking a rhinoceros with the sword in r. hand. Horse raises up its head, slightly frightened. Rhinoceros stands at bay, turning back its head to attack, mouth being opened. Rhinoceros is engraved realistically and beautifully, the horn on the head, two ears, l. eye, circular spots on the body, the tail and the four feet being all clear. Circular legend —(*Bhartā?*) *Khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupta Jayatyaniṣam.*"

Reverse—"Within dotted border goddess Gaṅgā, not nimbate, standing to l. on an elephant-headed crocodile, holding lotus with long stalk in its trunk. R. hand of the goddess is extended, forefinger pointing to some object, not visible on the coin, l. hand hanging down by the side, empty. Hair on the head of the goddess is tied in a knot and she wears earrings, necklace and bangles. Behind the goddess is a female attendant holding in r. hand a *chatra* (umbrella) without fillet, its staff being denoted by a dotted line, her l. hand is on the waist, symbol to r. and legend on the l.—*Śrī Mahendrakhaḍga(ḥ)*"

Dr. A. S. Altekar has translated[5] the legend on the obverse as "Ever-victorious is the lord Kumāragupta, who is *Khaḍgatrātā* protector by the sword (*Khaḍgena trātā*), as well as protector from the rhinoceros (*khaḍgebhyastrātā*)" and that on the reverse[6] as "Rhinoceros (killed by) Mahendra."

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[1] Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. cvii.

[3] *JNSI.*, vol. XI, p. 9.

[4] *CGGCBH.*, p. 296. Pl. XXX, 5-8.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. cvii.

It is well known to the scholars that the Gupta coin types sometimes seem to allude to historical facts. The Tiger-Slayer type of Samudragupta may indicate[7] the emperor's conquest in the valley of the Ganges, with its swampy and forest regions which was the abode of the royal Bengal tiger[8] or his victory over the *Mahākāntāraka Vyāghrarāja*.[9] Similarly Candragupta II's Lion-Slayer type may indicate his conquest over the Kathiawar region, the abode of the lion.[10] The victory and authority over the Western Satraps of this region is proved from other archaeological sources. Silver coins of the *Garuḍa* type bearing the legend of *Parama-Bhāgavata* were struck most probably in Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar).[11] The campaign against the Satraps of western Mālava and Saurāṣṭra is apparently alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Vīrasena-Sāba in the passage—"He (Sāba) came here (to Eastern Mālava), accompanied by the king (Candragupta) in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world"[12]. Eastern Mālava, which had already felt the might of

[6] *Ibid.*, p. cviii.

[7] R. K. Mukherjee, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 35.

[8] The introduction of the Goddess Gāṅgā on the reverse of the Tiger-Slayer type of Samudragupta's Coins may indicate the monarch's conquest in the valley of the Ganges, with its swampy and forest regions, which was the abode of the royal Bengal tiger. The particular area might be the south-western Bengal watered by the Ganges and still infested by the tiger, the inclusion of which within the empire of Samudragupta is indicated by the mention of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka and Kāmarūpa as the bordering States in I. 22 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

[9] L. 19, Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, *CII.*, vol. III. p. 6 ff. Mahākāntāra denoted Vindhyan wilderness, the Eastern Gondwana whose chief is aptly called the "tiger of the forest." (R. K. Mukherjee. *GE.*, p. 21). It is also suggested that Vyāghrarāja ruled in Jeypore forest in Orissa which is referred to as *Mahā-Vana*, a synonym of Mahā-Kāntāra, in an old Inscription (JAHRS), vol. I, 128, and *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI; *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, edited by R. C. Mazumdar and A. S. Altekar, p. 146). Both the forests mentioned above are infested with tigers. Naturally, a victory over the king or chief of either of these regions might have been commemorated by Samudragupta by issuing the Tiger-Slayer type.

[10] *GE.*, p. 55.

[11] J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa*, p. xciv.

[12] *CII.*, III p. 35—"*Kṛtsna-Pṛthvī-jayārthena rājñaiveha sahāgataḥ.*"

Samudragupta, became the base of operations against the Śakas[13]. All these sources tend to prove that Candragupta II led a successful war against the Śakas of western Mālava and Kathiawar.[14] It might be that to commemorate this victory he issued the Lion-Slayer type of coins depicting the king slaying the lion, an animal peculiar to the Kathiawar and Gujrat regions.

Thus it can be presumed with a fair degree of certainty that both Samudragupta and Candragupta II issued the Tiger-Slayer and Lion-Slayer types of coins respectively to commemorate their own conquests of certain parts of India which were finally incorporated within the empire. If this presumption be true, then the Rhinoceros-Slayer type of Kumāragupta I's coins, a unique issue in the whole range of Gupta numismatics, is also likely to allude to some historical event. It is a well-known fact that rhinoceros is an animal which is peculiar to Assam (Kāmarūpa). Hence it may be suggested that, like the Tiger-Slayer and Lion-Slayer types of Samudragupta and Candragupta II, the Rhinoceros-Slayer type of Kumāragupta I might have been issued to commemorate his conquest of *Kāmarūpa*.

It is known from the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta that the kings of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa and other bordering states paid obeisance to the Gupta monarch.[15] As Kāmarūpa paid tribute, it can be surmised that there was an alliance, and probably a subordinate one, between the Gupta monarch and the king of Kāmarūpa. This bond of friendship was probably unbroken at the time of Candragupta II. Kālidāsa is generally ascribed to the court of Candragupta II[16], and it is believed that in canto IV of his

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[13] H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th ed.), p. 555.

[14] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar identifies Candragupta II Vikramāditya with the traditional Vikramāditya Śakāri, "the Sun of valour, the destroyer of the Śakas." If this identification is correct then the theory regarding Candragupta's victory cover the Śakas of western Mālava and Surāṣṭra and the issue of the Lion-Slyer type of coins to perpetuate this victory gets further emphasis.

[15] "*Samataṭa-Ḍavāka-Kāmarūpa-Nepāla-Kartṛpurādi-pratyanta-nṛpatibhiḥ*...... *sarvva-kara-dānājñākāraṇa praṇāmāgamana paritoṣita pracaṇḍa śāsanasya*..........." *CII.*, III., p. 8.

[16] *Classical Age*, p. 303. It also seems to us that Candragupta II fulfils well the description of the trditional king Vikramāditya Śakāri who was the patron of Kālidāsa. The *Kumārasambhava* might refer to the birth of Kumāragupta I. In the following passage of Kālidāsa there is possibly a

Raghuvaṁśa, he has really narrated the conquering tour (*digvijaya*) of Samudragupta under the guise of the mythical Raghu.[17] The poet mentioned in the same *Mahākāvya* that Raghu's son Aja selected the king of Kāmarūpa as his best man in his marriage with Indumatī.[18] This may suggest that in the poet's time, i.e., during the reign of Candragupta II, the king of Kāmarūpa, was considered to be an important feudatory by the Gupta dignitaries and was probably regarded as an useful ally. But it seems that the political scene was changed during the reign of Kumāragupta I. The king of Kāmarūpa probably ceased to pay obeisance to the Gupta monarch and tried to assume the air of full independence by sending envoys to foreign countries. Watters has pointed out that it has been written in some Chinese text that in the year 428 A.D, an embassy from Yue-ai (Moon-loved), king of Ka-p'i-li country, arrived in China.[19] This has been rightly identified by Lieut. Col. A. Wilson with the Khasia Hills region (roughly Kāmarūpa) to the west of the Kāpili river in modern Assam. The river Kāpili is mentioned in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* as the Kapila Gaṅgā. It is not possible to ascertain the actual name[20] of the king of

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veiled reference to Candragupta II—*Kāmaṁ nṛpāḥ santu. sahasraso'nye rājanvatimāhuranena bhūmiṁ nakṣatratārāgrahasankūlāpi jyotiṣmatī Candramasaiva rātriḥ.*"

[17] Compare Kālidāsa's description of Raghu's *digvijaya* in which he defeated a king called Mahendra or of Mahendra but did not annex his territory with the Allahabad Praśasti's description of Samudragupta's *digvijaya* in which he actually defeated a king of the Deccan called Mahendra but did not occupy his kingdom, and the suggested identification will be apparent.

[18] *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto V.

[19] *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 540. "Kapilavāstu in the Buddhist Books" by Watters. The writer states than the Ka-pi-li country,—that is its capital, was described by the Chinese texts as situated on the side of a lake to the east of river and surrounded on all sides by purplish rocks. The learned writer has opined that Ka-pi-li may be the name of any district in India, but it could not have been Kapilavāstu visited by Fa-Hien. For correct identification of this country-name see V. A. Smith, *EHI.*, (4th ed.), p. 316 and *JRAS.* 19920. p. 227 ff.

[20] Dr. V. A. Smith thinks that the name Yue-ai is to be interpreted as a phonetic transcript of the common Khasia U-ai to which the Chinese author assigned a meaning (moon-loved—Candrapriya) (*EHI.*, 4th ed. p. 316) in his own language. But this theory is rather fanciful and cannot be taken in its face value.

Kāmarūpa who tried to defy Kumāragupta's overlordship by sending an envoy to China as a fully independent ruler and probably also by discontinuing the payment of tributes, which his predecessors used to pay. We can merely suggest the name of Candramukhavarman, the great grandfather of Bhāskaravarman. But the wide gap of time between Kumāragupta I (415-455 A.D.) and Candra's great grandson Bhāskaravarman (C. 600-650 A.D.) prevents us from taking this identification seriously. So in the present circumstances of our knowledge the question of the identification of king Yue-ai or moon-loved (Candrapriya) should remain open.

The direct rule of the emperors already extended upto the western border of Kāmarūpa. The Allahabad inscription proves that Kāmarūpa was a bordering state of the Gupta empire. That Kumāragupta retained the Gupta rule over Bengal, at least over the north Bengal region, is amply proved by the evidences of the Dhanaidaha (113 G.E.),[21] Baigram and Damodarpur (124 and 128 G.E.)[22] copper plates.

It is known from the evidence of the *Aśvamedha* type of coins (*Aśvamedha-Mahendra*) that Kumāragupta performed a horse sacrifice.[22] As this sacrifice is generally taken, at least during this age, to be an indication of assertion of lord paramountcy by successful military operations, we may assume that Kumāragupta, like his grandfather, might have set out on a conquering tour (*digvijaya*). Dr. V.A. Smith opines that it is not likely that Kumāragupta would have indulged in this vaunt unless to some extent it is justified by successful warfare. Probably he gained certain additions to his territory.[23] Dr. R. G. Basak also thinks in the same way.[24] In order to make fresh conquests Kumāragupta could set forth with his army in the north-west, south and the east. We do not know whether Kumāragupta made any conquest in the north-west (though he had to tackle the Hūṇa and Mleccha problems), but we can have some idea about his achievements in two other directions. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury suggests[25] that the assumption of the title *Vyāghra-balaparākrama* (displaying the strength and prowess of the tiger) on the Tiger-Slayer type of coins by Kumāra[26] may possibly indicate that he attempted to repeat the southern venture of his grandfather and penetrated into the tiger-infested forest territories beyond the Narmadā.[27] Expansion towards the south may also be indicated by a find of 1395 coins in the Satara district. In the east if the Gupta monarch had tried to expand, he, in all probability, first met with the troops of Kāmarūpa. In order to make his *digvijaya* complete and in order to punish the Kāmarūpa king, who, as already shown, might have tried to defy his authority and also probably tortured the people of the bordering Gupta empire by occasional raids (as is indicated by the legend *KHAḌGATRĀTĀ* attributed to Kumāra which may be translated as the "protector" from the rhinoceros). From the issue of the Rhinoceros-Slayer type of coins it seems that Kumāragupta attacked and conquered Kāmarūpa. Thus he fulfilled his two purposes, i.e., punishing the Kāmarūpa king for defying his authority and completion of the *digvijaya* before the horse sacrifice by defeating the same ruler who might have detained the sacrificial horse.[28]

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[21] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 347 ff.

[22] *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 130 ff. & 133 ff. 22. a Allan. *Loc. cit.* p. 68

[23] *EHI.*, (4th ed.), p. 316.

[24] R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 47.

[25] *PHAI.*, 569.

[26] Allan, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 81.

So this type appears to indicate a momentous episode of ancient Indian history i.e. the conquest of Kāmarūpa by Kumāragupta I. As Samudragupta and Candragupta II issued Tiger-Slayer and Lion-Slayer types respectively indicating the territories annexed, so also Kumāragupta probably issued this Rhinoceros-Slayer type of coins indicating the incorporation of Kāmarūpa (represented by the rhinoceros which is peculiar to that region) within his territory. On the reverse the goddess Gaṅgā is depicted with an umbrella, which is a mark of sovereignty, over her head. She is also seen pointing towards something (which is not visible on the coin) by her r. hand. These features may be taken to indicate the suzerainty of Pāṭaliputra, which is situated on the right bank of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas, over Kāmarūpa, the region infested by the rhinoceros.[29] The Legend *Śrī-Mahendrakhaḍga* (which can be translated as the rhinoceros (killed) by Mahendra), on the reverse makes the suggestion all the more probable.

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[27] *PHAI*.. 570, Dr. A. S. Altekar, however. thinks that the coins might have been brought there by some merchant.

[28] K. L. Barua (*EHK*., p. 43) says that in the traditional accounts of Kāmarūpa a king of the dynasty of Narakāsura, named, Subāhu, is stated to have detained the sacrificial horse Vikramāditya, who invaded Kāmarūpa and put Subāhu to flight. As Candragupta II Vikramāditya in all probability did not perform any horse sacrifice and as only two imperial monarchs i.e. Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, performed this ceremony, it seems that here Vikramāditya is to be taken as a mistake and the real king should be either Samudragupta Parākramānka or Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya. If it happens to be Kumāragupta I then Subāhu may be identified with Yue-ai. The association of the detained horse with the killing of rhinoceros in Kumāragupta's Rhinoceros-Slayer type of coins may mean that Kumāra defeated the Kāmarūpa king during the time of 'digvijayā.' just before the performance of the horse sacrifice.

Thus it seems that the Rhinoceros-Slayer type of coins has got a unique importance. It seems to indicate the conquest and annexation of Kāmarūpa by Kumāragupta I, a fact not yet disclosed by any other evidence. A unique issue in the Gupta monetary series, this type, apart from its numismatic importance, seems to echo an important political event in the history of the imperial Guptas, otherwise unknown[30].

BRATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

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[29] On the reverse of the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta's coins we find the figure of the goddess Gaṅgā with her hand pointing towards something,—a feature which can be interpreted in the same way.

[30] The tremendous amount of the Gupta influence in Kāmarūpa can be guessed from the supposed prevalence of the Gupta era even in the mediaeval period and the existence of the remains of a fine Gupta temple at Dah Pārvatia, ascribed by Mr. S. K. Saraswati to the first half of the fifth century A.D., i.e. the reign period of Kumāragupta I.

Miscellany

Tripāda-Mūrtis of the Mediaeval Period

The ancient Indian sculpture presents some very interesting *tripāda-mūrtis* of Bhairava, Bhṛṅgī, Agni etc., all coming within the range of Hindu pantheon. But all these images belong to the mediaeval and later ages only. Future discoveries are awaited for the study of such images which may belong to an earlier period.

I. BHAIRAVA

During my archaeological explorations in October 1953, I happened to discover a stone image on a hillock facing the ancient temples of Kirāḍu[1], situated in the Jodhpur division of the existing state of Rājasthāna. Made of yellow Jaisalamerī stone as the sculpture is, it presents very interesting iconographic details. The image is about 1 foot 5 inches in height and depicts 3 legged Bhairava in the *sthānaka mudrā*. The two legs have been kept erect and the deity wears the wooden *pādukās*[2] below. The foot of the third leg touches the thigh of the left leg. Behind the standing deity is to be seen a dog.

As regards the upper portion of the deity, the lips being open, the grinning face and the teeth are clearly visible. There is also the canopy of a 3 hooded snake on the head of the *sthānaka* deity who is shown as having 8 hands. Out of these 8 hands, there is a dagger in the right front hand and a bowl in the left front one. Besides that, the other right hands bear a sword, a *ḍamaru* etc. A garland of human skulls (*muṇḍa-mālā*) hangs up to the shin-bones of the legs kept erect. Also the tail of the three-hooded snake (cited above) appears to have formed the shape of a necklace round the neck of the deity.

It is really interesting to scrutinise the inscription on the pedestal of the above image. It runs thus:—संवत् १५१६ वर्षे वैशाख सुदि ५ तिथौ महातरम्...त्रिपादमूर्ति...कारापित.. .ब्रा...सुत उपाध्याधिना सर्वे शां(ति) हेतवे... प्रतिष्ठिता श्री श्री... ॥ The phrase *Tripādamūrti* is to be marked with great interest here. It specifically refers to the three legs of the deity. Thus the sculpture under study, a piece of 15th century A.D. art of Mārwār, goes to depict the *Atiriktānga*[3] form of Bhairava coming within the group of *Saṃhāra Bhairavas*. Thus the Kirāḍu sculpture offers an interesting piece in the realm of ancient Indian art because of the depiction of three legs of the deity therein and the specific reference to the phrase *tripādamūrti*.

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[1] i.e. ancient Kirāṭakūpa, about 3 miles from Khādīna—a railway station on the Jodhpur—Bārmer—Karachi railway line. It is about 120 miles from Jodhpur.

[2] For wooden sandals of Bhairava, see C. Śivarāmamūrti's paper in *Ancient India*, Bull. of the Deptt. of Archaeology, New Delhi, VI, p. 59, plate XXIV; Cf. T G. Rao, *Elementt of Hindu Iconograpry*—, Madras, II (i), plate XLIII.

II. BHṚṄGĪ

(A) The archaeological museum at Mathurā contains a mediaeval sculpture (no. 1280) on the reverse of which is "the lower half of a standing male figure, who has 3 legs and the third one being carved between the two. The right hand is held out in the *varada mudrā*. On each side is a male attendant standing in *tribhanga* pose. The right attendant has a *prabhāvalī* and is leaning against a column" [V. S. Agrawāla, *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XXII, 1949, p. 156]. In the words of Dr. V. S. Agrawāla (*ibid*, p. 157). "the sculpture seems to represent Bhṛṅgī with his three legs, although he is not shown emaciated. The presence of Pārvatī on obverse also seems to connect it with Saivism. The sculpturing of the three legs in this image may be compared with another figure of Bhṛṅgi from South India [J. Dubrieul, *Iconography of Southern India*, plate X, p. 28]."

(B) In fact Bhṛṅgī is represented as having three legs (H. K. Śāstrī, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras, 1916, p. 165, figure 105). Mr. Śāstrī also refers to an image of Bhṛṅgīśa (with 3 arms and 3 legs) which is stated to have been set up in the temple at Tanjore by a subordinate of Rājarāja in the eleventh century A.D.

The *Siva Purāṇa* relates how Bhṛṅgī came to have 3 legs instead of the usual two. It is stated therein that "on a certain occasion when Śiva was seated with his consort Pārvatī on the top of the Kailāśa mountain, the *devas* and the *ṛṣis* went there to pay homage to him. All of them except the *ṛṣi*" Bhṛṅgī went round both Śiva and Pārvatī in their circumambulations and also bowed to both. This *ṛṣi* had a vow of worshipping only one Being, that is, Śiva. In conformity with his vow, he neglected to go round or bow down to Pārvatī. Pārvatī, growing angry with Bhṛṅgī, desired in her mind that all his flesh and blood should disappear from his body and instantaneously he was reduced to a skeleton covered with only the skin. In this state, he was unable to support himself in an erect position. Seeing his pitiable plight, Śiva gave him a third leg so as to enable him to attain equilibrium. Bhṛṅgī became pleased with his lord and out of joy danced vigorously with his 3 legs and praised Śiva for his grace"[4].

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[3] For such forms consult T. G. Rao, *op. cit.*, II (i), pp. 181-2; II (ii), p. 95. Cf. also J. N. Banerjee's note in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay, 1955, p. 307; also my paper in the *Journal of Indian Museums*, X, 1954, pp. 23-4, fig. 6.

III. JVARA

According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*[5] (III. 73, 40), *Jvara* is also to be shown with 3 legs (ज्वरः त्रिपादः कर्तव्यः). It is regretted that no such image of *jvara* has been discovered so far.

IV. AGNI[6]

(A) The stone image of Agni in the Śiva temple at Kaṇḍiyūr in Travancore has "two heads which are of the goat, seven arms and three legs" [T. G. Rao, *op. cit.*, II(ii), plate CLII, p. 524].

(B) Another *tripādamūrti* of Agni comes from the famous Sun Temple at Moḍherā in Gujrāt. This image, now worshipped as Kāla Bhairava, is of Agni as suggested by Burgess[7]. Here the *sthānaka* deity has 3 faces, 3 arms and 3 legs. The three legs of Agni in fact denote triple existence[8], on earth as fire, in the atmosphere as lightning, in the sky as the sun. Dr. J. N. Banerjee [*Age of Imperial Kannauj*, *op. cit.*, p. 364, f.n. 124] also remarks that the Conjeevaram relief of *Tripādamūrti* has been described by H. K. Śāstrī (*op. cit.*, pp. 242-3) as of Agni quite wrongly. In his opinion the image, under reference, belongs to *Yajñeśa* or *Yajña-puruṣa Viṣṇu* [cf. also *The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, XIV, 1946, p. 46, for similar remarks of Dr. J. N. Banerjee].

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[4] T. G. Rao, *op. cit.*, II (i), pp. 322-3; cf. H. K. Śāstrī, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

[5] Information so kindly given by Dr. V. S. Agrawāla in his personal letter dated 18. 11. 53.

[6] Cf. legs of Agni even in a modern painting (*Ancient India*, *op. cit.*, p. 35),

[7] *ASWI.*, IX, p. 77 as cited by ~~H. D.~~ Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujrat*, Bombay, p. 144.

V. In the *Kaṇerī-kī-putalī* temple at Vṛndāvana (4 miles west of Bijolia in Rājasthāna), stands a male figure with 3 faces, 3 hands and 3 legs. One of the two right hands bears a rosary of beads and other two hands are placed as to form the English letter "O". This image has been compared with one of an exact description and visible on the wall of the celebrated Sun Temple at Moḍherā [*Progress Report of Archaeological Survey*, Western Circle, Poona, 1905, p. 54].

This is in nutshell a short account of some interesting *tripāda mūrtis* hailing from various parts of India.

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

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8. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 144 foot note 6; cf. T. G. Rao, *op. cit.*, II (ii), 521.

REVIEWS

SOUTH INDIAN POLITY. By T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D. Litt., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the Madras University, 1955. pp. X + 475.

This is one of the most important works published so far in the *Madras University Historical Series*. It gives us the first critical and comprehensive account of the political institutions of the Hindu States to the south of the Vindhyas from the earliest times down to the fall of Vijayanagar (c. 1650 according to the author). It is based upon an exhaustive study of the original sources comprising material drawn from archaeology, indigenous (Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese) literature and the notices of foreign (Greek, Chinese, and Arab) writers as well as modern works. In the Introductory chapter the author deals critically with the fundamental question of the influence of geography and social as well as religious institutions of the people upon their political life through the centuries. The following seven chapters deal very thoroughly and successfully with the different branches of the South Indian administration under the successive heads of Kingship, the Imperial (*read*, the State) Council and the Secretariat, Income and expenditure, Law, justice and police, Military organisation, Provincial government, and Local government. In the course of this description the author discusses frequently with reference to earlier authoritative views and in a spirit of scientific detachment a number of important questions relating to the various topics of the administration. Under this head we may mention the limitations on the powers of kings (pp. 17-21), the constitution and functions of the groups of 'five' and 'eight' forming the kings' entourage in the Tamil classical literature (pp. 101-04), the rates of assessment of the land-revenue and the burden of taxation with special reference to the Vijayanagar empire (pp. 160-67, 186-89), the resemblances and differences between the feudal (*nāyaṅkara*) system of Vijayanagar and its counterpart in Mediaeval Europe as well as the merits and defects of the former system (pp. 327-30), and the question of ownership of the soil (pp. 360-63). The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of a very full Index.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work it is possible for us to offer a few criticisms. The author's statement (p. 2) denying the continuous flow of the culture and the institutions of Northern into Southern India and *vice versa* is not borne out by the fact that social and religious movements emanating from the two zones have profoundly influenced each other from the earliest times. Nor again is it possible for us, in view of the important settlements of Roman and later of Muslim merchants in the great ports of Western and Southern India to agree with the author's contention in the same context that "the foreign merchants who came to India for trade were comparatively few". The author's two statements that the influence of the South Indian village assemblies "was at its highest from the 9th to the 16th centuries" (p. 10) and that these "village republics" "worked with great success from about A.D. 700-1400 and showed signs of decay and disruption in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" (p. 370) are somewhat inconsistent with each other. The author's view (p. 19) that "Hindu political theory did not postulate any institutional relationship between the ruler and his subjects", and that the only bond between them was conceived to be "the paternal feeling" of the one towards the other is contradicted by the references in *Manu-Saṁhitā* and still more in the *Mahābhārata* to the occasions for resistance in various degrees by the subjects against an evil or incompetent ruler. The statement (p. 198) that the *Dharmaśāstras* being "based upon the established usages" "received the respect and authority of the Vedas themselves" and that the customs of the people were taken into account "in course of time when the commentaries came to be written for the *Dharmaśāstras*" is inaccurate in all its parts. The rendering of *daṇḍa* as a 'goddess' (p. 199) in Manu's well-known verses is equally unfortunate. The author's account (pp. 201-03) of the laws of the South under four specified heads is based wholly upon the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions and takes no notice of the very valuable contemporary *Smṛiti* Digests like the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara and the *Smṛiti-candrikā* of Devaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The long list of errata at the end is incomplete, as is shown e.g. by the misprint of the title *Milinda-pañha* on pp. 108n, 401 and 437.

U. N. GHOSHAL

TANTRAKATHĀ. By Chintaharan Chakravarti. Viśvavidyāsaṁgraha No. 103. Published by Visvabharati, Calcutta, 1955.

The Tantras, though occupying a very important place in the history of Indian literature and culture, have not yet been subjected to any thorough and systematic analysis and interpretation. In spite of strong attempts by individual scholars to throw light on particular phases and aspects of the Tantric system, the Tantras as a whole are still obscure to the general body of scholars even in India. In the circumstances, the book under notice, which seeks to give within its small compass, a short general introduction in Bengali to the religion and literature of the Tantras, will be much appreciated by the inquisitive reader. Different sections deal with topics like the antiquity and influence of the Tantras, the ideal of the Tantric order, numerousness of its adherents in Bengal, Tantra scholars and Tantra literature, the prominent Tantric deities and the special form of worship offered to them. Though the topics are all interesting and thought provoking, it is felt that the reader will be eager for more information on each of them. The learned author is expected to present his theme in a more developed form and also in an English version to reach a wider circle of readers. In the meantime, we commend the booklet to all those who read Bengali and are interested in Tantra.

D. BHATTACHARYYA

Select Contents of the Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. XIX, pts 1-2

J. A. B. van Buitenen.—*The Śubhāśraya Prakaraṇa (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 6, 7) and the Meaning of Bhāvanā.* In reply to Khāṇḍikya's enquiry in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* Brahman was declared by Keśidhvaja as the 'auspicious substratum' (śubhāśraya) of the mind. The whole topic, specially the expression *bhāvanā* used in that context, is explained here in the light of the Pañcarātra tenets taught in the works like the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā.*

K. Kunhan Raja.—*The Theory of Suggestion in Indian Semantics.* The distinctive features of Ānandavardhana's theory of the poetic suggestion (dhvani) are given here in outline.

Anjali Mukhopadhyaya.—*Traditional Lore regarding Mañjuśrī.* Mañjuśrī, a worthy follower of Buddha, became in course of time a Buddhist deity. His forms and characteristics as detailed in the works of Mahāyāna Buddhism have been discussed in the paper.

Ratna Chandra Agrawala.—*Some Sculptures of Durgā Mahiṣamardinī from Rajasthan.* Sufficient sculptural and epigraphical evidence is available to show that the people of Rajasthan used to worship the images of Durgā as early as the 1st century A.C.

V. Raghavan.—*Quotations in the Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradātanaya.*

Siva Prasad Bhattacharya.—*The Yogavāsiṣṭha Conception of the Essence of Divine Worship.*

Alain Danielou.—*The Devī Upaniṣad.* This Śākta Upaniṣad has been translated into English with Notes based on the commentary of Srī Upaniṣad Brahmayogin.

Ronald M. Smith.—*The Story of Ambā in the Mahābhārata.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,
vol. XVII, pt 2

T. Burrow.—*Vedic 'iṣ-' to Prosper.* The root noun *iṣ-* occurring in Vedic literature is generally interpreted as meaning food.

But a survey of all relevant uses in the Veda shows its application in a much wider sense of thriving, flourishing, prospering.

A. L. BASHAM.—*The Date of the End of the Reign of Kumāragupta I and the Succession after the Death.* It is suggested that Kumārgupta died in 454 A.C. or even earlier.

Journal of the American Oriental Society,
vol. 75 (January-March, 1955)

D. D. KOSAMBI—*The Basis of Ancient Indian History* (I). The history of ancient India begins with the history of the tribes in isolated settlements and wild forests. A widening of the closed 'village economy' brought about the first change in the superstructure of the society, helping ultimately the 'enrollment of the group in a heirarchical scheme' of caste as class. The transformation was made possible without any attendant violence through the introduction of 'imposing rituals' and diffusion of religious ideas by the tactful and tolerant immigrants from the north.

Journal of the Annamalai University,
vol. XIX

S. SATCHIDANANDAM PILLAI.—*Śaiva Siddhānta.* The account given here considers God, souls and the world, their attributs and their relation to one another as conceived by the followers of the Śaiva Siddhānta.

N. RAGHUNATHAN.—*The Concept of Dharma in the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas: The Rāmāyaṇa.* The Conception of Dharma as reflected in the conduct of the principal characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the ethical outlook as presented throughout the epic, are dealt with in the discourse.

Journal of the Greater India Society,
vol. XIX, no. 1

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA.—*Religious Conditions as depicted in the Niya Documents from Central Asia.* Prakrit records in Kharoṣṭhī script from Chinese Turkestan throw considerable light on the religious conditions of the region in the early centuries of the Christian era. Along with various references to the different aspects of Buddhism including sects, institutions, beliefs, creeds, ceremonies and philosophical views, Hindu gods and rites are also found mentioned in these documents.

HIDENORI KITAGAWA.—*A Refutation of Solipsism*. The Buddhists do not believe in solipsism or the existence of the self as an unchangeable entity. The *Santānānantarasiddhi* (the Proof of Another Stream) is a work on this metaphysical problem ascribed to the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti. Written originally in Sanskrit in the form of a dialogue between the Realists and the Idealists the work attempts to prove the existence of a stream of psychological activities other than one's own. In the absence of the original text, a Tibetan version of the work has been rendered here into English with annotations.

Journal of Srī Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati,
vol. XV, no. 1

D. T. TATACHARYA.—*Methods of the Vedic Interpretation*. The purpose of the paper is to defend the methods of Vedic interpretation adopted by Yāska and Sāyaṇa. An attempt has been made to answer some of the specific criticisms generally made against them.

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Kabir*. The philosophical views as adumbrated in the sayings of the mystic saint Kabir are essentially in conformity with the Bhāgavata doctrine.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*The Mahābhāṣya vs Kāśikā*. The views of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kāśikā* are found to be at variance on many grammatical points. Several instances of disagreement between them are discussed in the paper.

K. RAMAKRISHNAIYA.—*Telugu Language before the 1st Millennium A.D.*

T. K. V. N. SUDARSANACHARI.—व्याप्तितत्त्वरहस्यम्. This paper in Sanskrit gives in brief the meaning of the word *vyāpti* as understood in different schools of Indian philosophy.

Journal of the University of Poona
Humanities Section, No. 3

RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI.—*Was Maharana Udai Singh of Mewar a Coward?* Evidence is adduced to prove that the charge of cowardice levelled against Maharana Udaisingh is not founded on facts.

P. K. GODE.—*Date of Śivacandra's Commentary on the Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana of Dharmadāsa—A. D.* 1613.

G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*Sāmkhya in the Bhagavadgītā.* Several concepts of the Sāṃkhya system tempered with the Vedāntic and theistic ideas have been moulded in the *Bhagavadgītī* and pressed into the service of its own teaching.

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9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXXI September, 1955 No. 3

Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva

There has been a good deal of controversy regarding the time and birth-place of Nāgārjuna and his disciple Āryadeva. There are critics who have discovered even five Nāgārjunas, and all of them take for granted that the Madhyamaka Nāgārjuna belongs to Vidarbha. The only basis of this contention is the highly erroneous geographical and historical accounts coming from the Tibetan sources. The *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, Tāranātha and Bu-ston give us facts clothed in fiction; and these writings have to be sifted carefully.

1. The *Laṅkāvātara* gives in the Sagāthaka section the verse:

दक्षिणापथवेदल्यां भिक्षुः श्रीमान् महायशाः ।
नागाह्वयः स नाम्ना तु सदसत्पक्षदारकः ॥[1]

Here it is clearly stated that Nāgārjuna's place of birth is Vedali. Critics who were unable to identify this Vedali have read it as Vedahi and as Vidarbha. The compiler of the *Laṅkāvatāra* could very well have given Vidarbha in this verse had he known for definite that Nāgārjuna was born in Vidarbha. He only states that the great teacher was born in Dakṣiṇāpatha, in the southern part of the country, in the place called Vedali. Here it may be noted that some family names of Andhras are derived from place names. Thus we have family names like Vedāla and Vedula. There is a village in the present Godavari District of Andhra called Vedula. In the modern Chingelput district there is a village called Vedala. From local traditions near Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Guntur district it appears that there was at one time a village called Vedali near about that hill.[2] Nāgārjuna's place of birth then must evidently go to one of these districts. And it is quite likely that there was the Vedali of Nāgārjuna in the Guntur district. The later writers who did not care to know of such a place drastically emended the text and misread it as Vidarbha.

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[1] P. 286, verse 165. See Bu-ston, II. 129 where a fantastic story is given and doubted.

[2] There is also a place called Vejendla now, very near Guntur.

2. There are other pieces of evidence that go to strengthen this contention. There is a hill in modern Bezawada which is called Indrakīla-parvata. And in the *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti we come across a Māra-damana-sūtra where it is stated:

> अथ मंजुश्रीः कुमारभूतः तस्यां वेलायां तथारूपं समन्वाहरं समन्वाहरति स्म । यन्मारपापीयानिन्द्रकीलवंधनवद्धो......॥[3]

Mañjuśrī comes to the Indrakīla hill which is the same as the hill in Bezawada. At present there is a queer idol, a projection in a rock, called Durga. This idol can very well be the Mañjuśrī. It is not actually an idol, but a natural formation in the rock. And according to the local and literary traditions there was an Arjuna who did penance in this hill. People even point out the cave where the penance was performed. This Arjuna was no other than Nāgārjuna.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* speaks of Dhanyākara, which is Dhānyakaṭaka near Amarāvati, as a seat of Manjuśrī who lived in an extensive forest Māla-dhvaja-vyūha-caitya and who converted a large number of Nāgas.[4] This was the area where Nāgas lived and where Mañjuśrī had his seat. According to Tāranātha, the worship of Amitābha began with Saraha who "saw Amitābha in the land of Dhingkota and died with his face turned towards Sukhāvatī".[5] This Dhingkota is the same as Dhānyakaṭaka. These sources go to confirm what we find in the inscriptions. An inscription at Jaggayyapeta tells us of an image of Buddha done by Candraprabhā, a disciple of Jayaprabhā, who in turn was a pupil of Nāgārjuna. In the completion of the Mahācaitya at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa we hear that Nāgārjuna was greatly assisted by

[3] P. 107-8 of the Buddhist Text Society Edition.

[4] धन्याकरस्य महानगरस्य विचित्रमालध्वजव्यूहं नाम महावनखण्डं पूर्वबुद्धाध्यासितं चैत्यं तथागताधिष्ठितम् ॥

Names having Nāga as a part are very common even now in Andhra. There are Nāgas in the hills of Bhadracalam even now.

[5] See Sir Charles Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 219. See Schiefner, pp. 93, 103, 303.

one Ānanda who knew Dīghanikāya and Majjhimanikāya by heart and who belonged to the Āryasaṅgha.

We have noted earlier that the Nāgas in the area of Dhānyakaṭaka were converted to Buddhism by Mañjuśrī. We hear elsewhere that Mucalinda, a Nāga king, was one of the first few persons to meet the Buddha after enlightenment.[6] These Nāgas were associated with the sea,[7] and they lived in a forest and in a hilly country.[8] In the life of Padmasambhava, as given by his own disciple, we gather that Nāgārjuna obtained the Pāramitās and the greater part of the Mahāyāna sūtras from Mucalinda Nāga and his family.[9] These texts were supposed to be hidden in Urgyan or Odyan where dwelt Indrabodhi,[10] the father of Padmasambhava. That this Urgyan is the same as the Dhānyakaṭaka area is evident when we find in the same authority that Padmasambhava was born in the Dhanakoṣa (=Dhānyakaṭaka) lake, in the north-western corner of the country of Urgyan.[11]

Kumārajīva (384 A.D.) practically agrees with this tradition that Nāgārjuna obtained the Pāramitās and other Sūtras from Nāgas. Who is this Mucalinda? He was a ruler over an area that bordered on the sea; and it was also full of hills and forests. Nāgārjuna had to go into the sea, as the story goes, to reach the abode of the Nāgas. Now on the other side of the Krishnā river, near the sea, is a town called Macilipattanam. It is evident that the name of this place is derived from Macalinda or Mucalinda Nāga. Now in the Mahāvaṃsa we read that Vohāraka Tissa Rāja "having listened to the discourses of Thera Deva, resident at Kambugāma, he repaired five edifices. Delighted also with Mahātissa then resident at Anura Vihāra, he kept up daily alms for him at Mucilapattana".[12] Thera Deva belonged to Mucilapattana and he went to preach in Ceylon. And Mucilapattana, the modern Masulipatam, got its name from Mucilinda; and it was from here that Nāgārjuna obtained the Mahāyāna texts.

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[6] Ses *S.B.E.* 21, pp. 80, 119.

[7] Jātakas, III. 82.

[8] Jātakas. V. 2, cf. Gilgit Manuscripts, I. 80.

[9] Evans-Wentz: *The Tibetan Book of Great Liberation*, p. 156. In the Aṣṭasāhasrikā (p. 225) it is clearly stated that the Pāramitā literature will originate only in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, and Tāranātha states that the Pāramitās were first written in the Prākrit of this area. This Dakṣiṇāpatha is the area comprising Macilipattana and Dhānyakaṭaka.

[10] See Evans-Wentz, p. 129.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[12] *Mahāvaṃsa*, chap. 36, p. 144.

3. The mention of Āryadeva raises the problem of his home-town. The Tibeto-Chinese traditions put him in Siṃhala. Some scholars take this Siṃhala to be modern Orissa. But the continued existence of the family name "Ayyadevara" in the Andhra country compels us to look to the home town of Āryadeva in Andhra area. The minister of Indrabodhi of Dhānyakaṭaka found out a maiden called Bhāsadharā, daughter of king Candrakumāra, in Singala.[13] Gustave-Charles Toussaint takes this Singala to refer to a country not far from Udyan, or Urgyan, the Dhānyakaṭaka area.[14] Dr. Waddell equated it with the Siṃhapura of Yuan Chwang.[15] Sardar Bahadur Laden La remarks that it may have been what is now the Guntur District.[16] Evidently Laden La was recording a tradition. The father of Āryadeva was said to be Śrīphala, king of Singalā or Sagāla.[17] These facts compel us to look for Singala near about Macilipattana which is due north to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Then Candrakīrti's statement that Āryadeva came south to meet Nāgārjuna becomes clear. Singala is also mentioned as Sagāla; and a place called Śrīkākulam, near Masulipatam, has a native tradition which speaks of the Śātavāhanas as coming from here. Śrīkākulam was the birth place of Āryadeva.

4 Before we proceed to consider the evidence of Yuan Chwang, we should remember that this Chinese traveller not only wrote about places he did not visit, but also recorded wrong geographical directions. That he wrote about places he never visited was certain when we consider his location of Potalaka in Malākūṭa. According to the *Suttanipāta*, Assaka and Mūlaka are Andhaka territories. The capital of Assaka was said to be Potana[18], also called Potala or Podana. The last variant gives us some similarity with modern Bodhan, near Hyderabad in the Deccan. Leaving this aside, let us

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[13] See *Evans-Wentz*, p. 113.

[14] *Le Dict de Padma*, p. 491.

[15] *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 381.

[16] *Evans-Wentz*, p. 113.

[17] Ibid, pp. 156-157.

[18] Digha Nikāya, 2, 235; Jātaka, 3, 3-5; Vimānavatthu, 259 ff.

see the pilgrim's sense of direction. From Kośala he went 1800 li north-west and 'saw' Nāgārjuna's monastery. Then 300 li south west he 'found' Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li. Then from Kośala he moved 900 li due south to the An-to-lo country whose capital was Vengi. Then south for 1000 li he saw Dhānyakaṭaka. This is a strange geography. It is not even consistent. It is as much faulty as the birth place of Nāgārjuna given by the Tibeto-Chinese authorities. Because Yuan Chwang spoke of a Bhramaragiri in Kośala, lying 1800 li (=300 miles) north-west of Kalinga, our interested scholars discovered Nāgārjuna's abode in Ramtek. The confusion is all the more because of a so-called Dakṣiṇa Kośala, geographical location of which is highly uncertain.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta refers to Mahendra, king of Kośala, in Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to the Nasik inscription Gautamīputra conquered Dakṣiṇa Kośala. The *Vāyupurāṇa* refers to the janapadas called Andhra and Kośala which are ruled by the same Guha[19]. Among the Andhra Brahmans we have even today those belonging to Kāsala nādu. This Kāśala nādu is the Dakṣiṇa-kośala which cannot be put entirely outside the Telugu speaking areas. When people migrate from one area to another, they usually carry the names of places and rivers too to the lands where they settle down. Thus Kāñcī is called Dakśiṇa-Kāśī; but it does not mean the southern portion of Kāśī. Godāvari is called Dakṣiṇa Gaṅgā. Likewise if there was a Dakṣiṇa Kośala, it cannot be a southern portion of a single Kośala. On the other hand it can only be a Kośala in the south, far away from the original Kośala. As such it is but wishful thinking that can see Dakṣiṇa Kośala confined to the Chattisgarh area in the Central Provinces.

South of the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kośala was an old monastery in which Nāgārjuna lived, according to Yuan Chwang. To the south-west of this country was placed a mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li which has been identified with Bhramaragiri, and which can also be read as "Vara-mūla-giri" (the hill that confers boons). The hills near Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are also called Nalla-malai or black mountains. The row of hills is of the colour of black bees; and the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may have been called Bhramaragiri. But there is a place called

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[19] Vāyu, 99, 385-6.

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Śrīśaila, near modern Kurnool, due south-west of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa exactly by 300 li or 50 miles. Here too we have a row of hills, and there is still a temple dedicated to Bhramarāmbā. This was actually the Bhramaragiri referred to by the Chinese pilgrim. And the monastery in the Dakṣiṇa Kośala would then be identical with Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. And even the kings who ruled in this area later on in the third and fourth centuries traced their descent from the Ikṣvākus and are called Ikṣvākus. In later times Nāgārjunakoṇḍa too came to be called Śrīparvata or simply Parvata which Fahien misread as Pārāvata. Śrī parvata and Śrīśaila are apparently synonyms and the Bhramaragiri of Śrīśaila was quietly ignored.

5. According to Yuan Chwang the king Sha-to-po-ha (Yin-cheng) excavated a monastery in Dakṣiṇa Kośala and another at Bhramaragiri. I-Tsing gives the personal name of the king as Shi-yen-te-ka while a previous translator gives it as Shan-te-ka. These correspond to Jetaka, Jīvataka, or Sāntaka. In Tibetan we have Śāntivāhana Antivāhana, Śaṅkara and Udayana (or Utrayana) also. It was at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa the officers in charge of excavation in 1938 came across the tooth relics which are traditionally believed to be those of Nāgārjuna. Āryadeva's relics too were found in the same site. And as the Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang has it, Nāgārjuna was actually born in a place to the south of Vidarbha, not in Vidarbha.[20]

Who was the Śātavāhana king that patronised Nāgārjuna? Here scholars have made all kinds of guesses. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the contemporary kings of Kasmir during the time of Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna were Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka.[21] Though this is a valuable evidence it does not help us much since the dates of these kings are not settled beyond dispute, and since the dates of the Śātavāhana kings are also controversial. Here we have two more lines of evidence to fix the actual time of Nāgārjuna, the Madhyamaka philosopher.

6. First we have an external evidence in the form of a Prākrita Kāvya entitled Līlāvatī Pariṇaya.[22] Līlāvatī, daughter of Silāmegha, king of Ceylon, was brought to the area known as Sapta-godāvaram, the Godavari delta, by the commander of the king called Vijayānan-

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[20] See *IHQ*. vol. 30, pp. 93-95. [21] I, 173.

[22] Published in Telugu characters in the Bharati of Madras, vol. 3, pt. 1. 3 ff.

da;[23] and Hāla who is described as Sālāhaṇa[24] and as Sālāhaṇanarinda,[25] is married to her. In this work, which clearly puts Hāla in the modern Godāvarī district in Andhra, we have the following two very interesting verses:

बहु मन्नंतो तं चि अमरणं संतोसदिन्न निय हिअओ ।
नायज्जुणो वरो हेण निग्गओ निय पुराहिंतो ॥
नायज्जुण भिक्खु पुरस्सरेण सरितीर संठिओ राया ।
विजयाणं देणसमं विवरा हुत्तं परिक्कंतो ॥[26]

Here we are definitely told that Bhikṣu Nāgārjuna was the teacher and adviser of Hāla. The king listened to Nāgārjuna's advice and turned back to his city somewhere near Drākṣārāma, where too there existed once a Buddhist monastery.

Hāla ruled only for five years and he must have died quite young. He was followed by Kuntala Śātakarṇi whose name has some similarity with Jetaka or Shiyenteka. It was this Kuntala that was referred to by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtras*. There is no reason to doubt that the author of the *Nyāyabhāṣya* was the same as the author of the *Kāmasūtras*. Here begins our second line of evidence.

7. Nāgārjuna wrote his *Vigrahavyāvartanī* in reply to certain criticisms that were levelled against his Madhyamaka Kārikā. This is clear from the author's own Vṛtti on the 28th verse of *Vigrahavyāvartanī* where he refers his critic to what he said in the Madhyamakakārikā XXIV. 10. Vātsyāyana observes:

प्रत्यक्षादीनां प्रमाणत्वं नास्ति त्रैकाल्यासिद्धेः पूर्वापरसहभावानुपपत्तेः ॥[27]

And this argument on 'traikālyāsiddhi' appears in *Vigrahavyāvartanī* thus in the statement of the objection:

पूर्वं चेत्प्रतिषेधः पश्चात्प्रतिषेध्यमित्यनुपपन्नम् ।
पश्चादनुपपन्नो युगपच्च यतः स्वभावोऽसन् ॥[28]

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[23] See verses 190, 242, and 1117.

[24] See verses 837 and 867.

[25] See verse 939.

[26] Verses 1018, 1019. The Sanskrit chāyā is as follows:

बहु मन्यतस्तमेव मरणं सतोष दत्त निज हृदये ।
नागार्जुनोपरो धेन निर्गतो निज पुराभिमुखः ॥
नागार्जुन भिक्षु पुरस्सरेण सरित्तीर संस्थितो राजा ।
विजयानं देवसमं विवशाभिमुखं परिक्रान्तः ॥

The transformation of Nāga as Nāya reminds us of the modern Nāyuḍu community in Andhra. These may be the descendants of the old Nāgas.

[27] On N. S. II. i. 8.

[28] Verse 20.

And the reply is embodied in verses 43, 45, 70 and 71. The 70th verse with its vṛtti has a striking similarity with the wording of Vātsyāyana:

य स्त्रैकाल्ये हेतुः प्रत्युक्तः पूर्वमेव समत्वात् ।
त्रैकाल्य प्रतिहेतुश्च शून्यतावादिनां प्राप्तः ॥

Nāgārjuna is evidently having before his mind the following passage from Vātsyāyana on II.i.12:

पूर्वं हि प्रतिषेधसिद्धावसति प्रतिषेध्ये किं प्रतिषिध्यते । पश्चात्सिद्धौ प्रतिषेध्यासिद्धिः प्रतिषेधाभावादिति । युगपत् सिद्धौ प्रतिषेध्यसिद्ध्यभ्यनुज्ञानादनर्थकः प्रतिषेध इति । प्रतिषेधलक्षणे च वाक्येऽनुपपद्यमाने सिद्धं प्रत्यक्षादीनां प्रमाणत्वमिति ॥

Nāgārjuna states that this refutation is faulty because it implies the assumption on the part of the opponent of the traikālya parīkṣā. And this is clearly referred to by Uddyotakara. All this reveals that Nāgārjuna is directly replying to the points raised by the *Nyāyabhāṣya*.

When we consider the prāmāṇya-vāda we find that Nāgārjuna is actually quoted in the pūrvapakṣa by Vātsyāyana. The former states (31, 32):

यदि च प्रमाणतस्तेषां तेषां प्रसिद्धिरर्थानाम् ।
तेषां पुनः प्रसिद्धिं ब्रूहि कथं तेषां निःप्रमाणानाम् ॥
अन्यैर्यदि प्रमाणैः प्रमाणसिद्धिर्भवत्यनवस्था ।
नादेः सिद्धिस्तत्रास्ति नैव मध्यस्य नांतस्य ॥

If the validity of one pramāṇa is to be established by another, then it leads to a regressus. And Vātsyāyana has in his pūrvapakṣa these words on II.i.17:

यदि प्रत्यक्षादीनि प्रमाणेनोपलभ्यंते । येन प्रमाणेनोपलभ्यंते तत्प्रमाणांतरमस्तीति प्रमाणांतरसद्भावः प्रसज्यत इति अनवस्थामाह तस्याप्यन्येन तस्याप्यन्येनेति । न चानवस्था शक्याऽनुज्ञातुमनुपपत्तेरिति ॥

The wording is highly reminiscent of Nāgārjuna. But in the next Sūtra Vātsyāyana argues about the consequences of a pramāṇasiddhi even without the pramâṇa:

यदि प्रत्यक्षाद्युपलब्धौ प्रमाणांतरं निवर्तते ? आत्माद्युपलब्धावपि प्रमाणांतरं निवर्त्स्यत्यविशेषात् ॥

And Nāgārjuna's position is clear in the 45th verse:

यदि च प्रमेयसिद्धिरनपेक्ष्यैव भवति प्रमाणानि ।
किं ते प्रमाणसिद्ध्या तानि यदर्थं प्रसिद्धं तत् ॥

These passages are so baffling that one cannot definitely say who is borrowing from whom. In the 14th verse Nāgārjuna admits that there may be an objection to the effect that if there are **no pramāṇas**, there can be no negation of the pramāṇas:

नन्वेवं सत्यस्ति ग्राहो ग्राह्यं च तद्गृहीतं च ।
प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्यं प्रतिषेद्धा चेति षट्कं तत् ॥

And Vātsyāyana states on II.i.13 thus:

त्रैकाल्यासिद्धिरित्यस्य हेतोः यद्युदाहरणमुपादीयते हेत्वर्थस्य **साधकत्वं दृष्टान्ते** दर्शयितव्यमिति, न च तर्हि प्रत्यक्षादीनामप्रामाण्यम् । अथ **प्रत्यक्षादीनामप्रामाण्यम्** । उपादीयमानमप्युदाहरणं नार्थं साधयिष्यतीति सोऽयं सर्वप्रमाणव्याहतो **हेतुरहेतुः**......॥

The objection stated by Nāgārjuna goes back to Vātsyāyana. The *Nyāyabhāṣya* on II.i.19 has similarly a close relation to the entire argument of the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*. These facts show that Vātsyāyana wrote his *Nyāyabhāṣya* after the Madhyamakakārikas; that Nāgārjuna knew the *Nyāyabhāṣya* and answered it in *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*; that Vātsyāyana later knew the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* and tried to answer the criticism by amending and expanding his own text; and that Nāgārjuna had to come forth with a Vṛtti on his later text to defend his position from the attack of his Nyāya rival. These two great thinkers were exact contemporaries. Their philosophical career extended during the reigns of Hāla, Kuntaka and their successors.

8. Finally there is the *Ratnāvalī* written by Nāgārjuna as a piece of advice to a young king. The commentator Ajitamitra says that this king was the same to whom the Śiṣyalekhā was addressed. Besides giving the young ruler a series of moral principles, Nāgārjuna throws an interesting light on the state of things prevailing at that time. He elaborately criticises the false doctrines, condemns the atheist (I. 67), advises the king not to be misled by the self-seeking ministers and elders and declares:

दुर्लभाः पथ्यवक्तारः श्रोतारस्त्वति दुर्लभाः......॥
पथ्यमप्यप्रियं तस्माज्ज्ञात्वा शीघ्रं समाचर......॥[29]

Apparently persons like Nāgārjuna who are the pathya-vaktās are rare,[30] and the king is surrounded by those who do not wish the good of the king. The good that Nāgārjuna can offer is treated as unpalatable (*apriya*, II. 42). He wants the king to abstain from drink

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[29] Ratnāvali, II, 41, 42.

[30] *Ibid.*, IV, 3—अहमेको वदामि त्वां पथ्यमप्यप्रियं भृशम् ॥

(II. 46). He admits that non-Buddhists have come to power and that they are abusing Mahāyāna:

अत्यौदार्यातिगांभीर्या द्विषरणैरकृतात्मभिः ।
निंद्यतेऽद्य महायानं मोहात् स्वपरवैरिभिः ।
……महायानमतस्तस्मिन् कस्माद्दुर्भाषितं वचः ॥[31]

These lines show that the king to whom this letter was addressed broke away from the faith of his father, grandfather and others, and that he became Brahmanical. Nāgārjuna in a desperate bid to have royal support for the Buddhist church was addressing the letters to the king.

According to the Purāṇas there were three kings after Kuntala, and the fourth was Gautamīputra who styled himself as "eka brāhmaṇa", thereby meaning that he was the first in the remembered history of his family to come back to the Brahmanical religion. And Nāgārjuna's letters were addressed to this young king when Nāgārjuna was very much advanced in years. Assuming that the first Andhra king Śrīmukha came to power in 271 B.C., Hāla must have come to power in 10 A.D., while Gautamīputra came to power in 70 A.D. By 70 A.D. Nāgārjuna could very well be ninety years old.

The foregoing enquiry establishes that Nāgārjuna was born in the modern Telugu speaking Guntur district, that his disciple Āryadeva came from Śrīkakulam, a place near modern Masulipatam, that the Bhramaragiri was in Śrīśaila, that the great monastery in south Kośala is the same as the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Mahācaitya in modern Guntur district, that Nāgārjuna was the teacher and guide of successive Sātavāhana rulers from Hāla onwards, that his power declined with the rise of Gautamīputra, and that Nāgārjuna was an Andhra.

P. S. SASTRI

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[31] *Ibid.*, IV. 79, 80. See also IV. 89 - महायाने यतोद्वेषोनात्म कामैः कृतोऽर्हति ॥

On the Origin of the Hindu Drama

1 *The General Character of the Problem*

Different scholars have tried to study the very complicated problem of the origin of the Hindu drama in the light of data which may be grouped under the following heads: the dialogue hymns of the Vedas, the Vedic ritual, the ancient literature other than the Vedas, the religious aspect of drama, its secular aspect, the possible foreign influence on it, and the evidence of Prakrit.[1] Discussions which resulted from these various data, in spite of their bewildering and confusing appearance, seem to be very suggestive, and may ultimately prove helpful for the solution of this intricate problem. But the chief drawback of the opinions and theories advanced on the subject appear to be that these pay more attention to details than to the general aspects of the problem, which may be summed up in the two following broad questions:

(1) *Was the origin of the ancient Indian drama religious or secular?*

(2) *Were the Indo-Aryans its originators or their predecessors were so?*

Unless these two very fundamental questions are first given some satisfactory answer, it would be futile to expect anything like historical light from the various fragmentary data, one may pick up here and there in literature or in history.

2 *The Religious Origin of Drama*

An approach to the first question may begin with a consideration of the testimony of anthropology which shows that a close relation of dance, song and drama with religious rites, exists among peoples of different countries. For example, in Greece and in Mexico we find some dances of religious character to be intimately connected with the origin of drama.[2] Hence it may be assumed that in India too, religion might have played a part in the origin of this art. The Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (21.3.11)[3], compiled probably about 600 B.C., seems to give support to this assumption. From this work, we learn that dance, song and instrumental music were prescribed in connection with the *pitṛmedha* rites, and dance only was prescribed for the *atirātra* and *sattrāyaṇa* sacrifices. As dance, song and instrumental music are the three most essential elements of the Hindu drama, Kātyāyana's testimony seems to be very valuable in this regard. This receives substantial corroboration from a passage in the Nāṭyaśāstra (c. 200 A.C), which is as follows:

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[1] A. B. Keith, *Skt. Drama,* Oxford, 1924, pp. 13 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 16.

> The gods are never so pleased on being worshipped with scents and garlands, as they are delighted with the performance of dramas. The man who properly attends the performance of music or dramas, will [after his death] attain the happy and meritorious path in the company of the Brahminic sages. (XXXVI, 81-82)[4]

And it is due to the religious association of drama that the Indian tradition has given the status of the Veda to the earliest work on the subject, and the Nāṭyaveda is another name for this. Besides this, the Nāṭyaśāstra discusses its own value as follows:—

> He who always hears the reading of this (Śāstra) which is auspicious, sportful, originating from Brahman's mouth, very holy, pure, good, destructive of sins, and who puts this into practice, or witnesses the performance [of a drama], will attain the same [blessed] goal which the masters of the Vedic path and the masters of the Vedic lore, the performers of sacrifices or the givers of gifts, will [in the end] attain." (XXXVI, 77-79).[5]

There is besides other evidences (though somewhat late) of a close connection of drama with religion. For example, dramas and dramatic scenes of Kerala, which undoubtedly have their origin in the remote past, are performed exclusively in honour of Bhagavatī, the great Mother goddess.[6] The Bengali folk-drama called Yātrā owes its name to different *yātrās*[7] or festivals held in honour of Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu), a member of the Hindu Trinity. And the Rāmalīlā festival of Northern India[8] which is somewhat akin to a dramatic representation, is celebrated in honour of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The associa-

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[3] Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama*, Berlin, 1920. p. 43.

[4] See the Translation of the *NŚ*. (vol. II) published by the Asiatic Society in *Bibliotheca Indica*.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] K. R. Pisharoti, "Kerala Theatre" in the *Annamalai University Journal*, I, 1932, pp. 96-97.

[7] Keith, *Skt. Drama*, p. 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

tion of Śiva, another member of the Hindu Trinity, with dance and drama, is equally manifest from his epithet of Naṭarāja (the great dancer actor). The *Mahabhārata*[9] mentions the Paśūpati-samāja festival which was held in honour of Śiva, and included drinking, dance and song. According to his devotees, dance and drama propitiate Śiva more than any other form of worship. Brahman, the remaining member of the Hindu Trinity, is also associated with drama, for according to the Nāṭyaśāstra (I) it is this deity that created the Nāṭyaveda or the rules of dramaturgy and histrionics. All these may be said to show more or less conclusively that the Hindu drama is religious in origin. As against this, some scholars however have stressed on the possibility of its secular origin. But their arguments seem to have been very successfully refuted by A.B. Keith.[10] There is still a third view which would see alike matters sacred and secular, connected with the origin of drama. But such a hypothesis is really redundant, for in ancient times any idea of secularism would be almost an improbability, specially when there was any great chance of religious association.

3. *The Pre-Aryan Origin of Drama*

Now we are to enquire whether the Aryans or their predecessors originated the drama. Any attempt to make an answer to this question properly will however take us far afield in a general enquiry into the contribution of different racial elements in building up the Indian culture. It cannot be said that all the different aspects of this vast subject have been studied with the thoroughness and care they deserve, but it may be claimed—thanks to the sciences of linguistics, archaeology and anthropology—that the general lines, which the Indian culture has followed in its development through ages due to an intermixture of ethnic elements possessing diverse behaviour-types i.e. thoughts and habits, have already been discovered. In the light of such a discovery, it is now being increasingly clear, how the Indian culture has evolved "on the basis of other cultures and environments, which existed in the land prior to the advent of the Aryans", and the "art and certain important aspects of the Hindu religion"

[9] Vaṅgavāsī ed I, 143. 3.

[10] Keith, *Skt. Drama*, pp. 29ff.

are definitely to be ascribed to this source.[11] Hence it may be considered quite legitimate to ascribe the origin of the dramatic art to the very old predecessors of the Aryans.

This assumption may be said to receive a strong support from the fact that Śiva who, according to the legend in the Nāṭyaśāstra, plays the most important part in the creation of drama, have been considered to be originally a pre-Aryan deity. Viṣṇu, who also has some intimate connection with the origin of drama, according to the same source, is indeed an Aryan deity by name, but in his Puranic character he is to be sharply distinguished from his Vedic namesake. His association with Pūjā which has rightly been considered a pre-Aryan institution may be said to establish definitely his non-Aryan character.[12] The Pūjā again figuring prominently in the various rites prescribed in connection with the building of a playhouse and with the propitiation of the gods of the stage (NŚ. III) strengthens the assumption about the pre-Aryan origin of drama.

From all the foregoing discussions it seems to be clear that the Hindu drama came out from religious rites associated with some pre-Aryan deity,—Śiva or Viṣṇu.

4. *Drama and Śiva-worship*

Now which of these two deities may be responsible for the origin of drama? It will indeed be very difficult to give anything like a dogmatic answer. For we have no very old data which can help us in this regard and can lead to ascertain the exact role the worshippers of the deity in question played in bringing drama into existence But if we consider the fact that the essential social and religious institutions of the Hindus, though in somewhat altered forms, are mostly survivals from the hoary antiquity, we come to realise what a strong conservative force is always likely to work in this matter too. Hence it may perhaps be permissible to utilize in this connection the testimony of not a very early work like the Nāṭyaśāstra (I) which gives Śiva the most honourable place in its legend about the creation of drama. The relevant portion of this legend is briefly as follows:—

[11] Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "Foundations of Civilization in India" in *Het Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsteben Wetenschappen*, Deel LXVIII (1929), off-print pp. 79, 90.

[12] *Ibid.* pp. 82ff.

Brahman who compiled the first treatise on the dramatic art once asked Bharata to prepare for the production of a play named Amṛtamanthana which he (Brahman) composed, and then accompanied by the latter as well as other gods, he went to the Himālaya the abode of Śiva to see this play produced before the latter. Śiva was pleased to see the performance and suggested that the dance which he knew should be added to it. Then Brahman requested him to give instruction to Bharata in this art. Next Śiva called upon Taṇḍu (the eponymous author of the Tāṇḍava dance) to come to Bharata's help. From him Bharata learnt various Karaṇas and Aṅgahāras which are included in the Tāṇḍava dance which Śiva referred to.

The most remarkable feature of the legend, as it appears from the brief *resumé* given above, is that Śiva has been given the most honourable place in it. For, Brahman together with other gods condescends to wait upon Śiva in the latter's own residence, obviously for his approbation of the new dramatic creation as well as for any further instruction that Śiva only was capable of giving for its improvement. The other interesting aspects of the legend are that Viṣṇu, whom we find in later times connected with dramatic performance of some kinds, is conspicuous by his absence in it, though his name occurs later in the Nāṭyaśastra (XXII) in connexion with the origin of the Styles of Procedure (*vṛtti*). Evidently, this second legend was an after-thought, and may be due to Viṣṇu's connection with drama at a later stage. For if he had any original connexion with drama, he might well have appeared in the first legend which also mentions the Styles. Besides this, in comparison with the exalted position of Śiva in the legend, Brahman occupies rather a position of secondary importance. Even this limited importance has gradually vanished in later times. Brahman was never afterwards shown any honour in connection with drama.

Thus it may be tentatively accepted that Śiva was connected with the origin of drama, and his pre-Aryan descent as well as the later epithet of Naṭarāja strengthens his claim very much in this respect. So far we are on more or less sure ground, but we do not know exactly in which of his two principal aspects Śiva played his part in the creation of drama. Was it his phallic character or his character as the lord of destruction, that Śiva received from his worshippers a ritual dance which in course of time gave rise to drama?

Considering the fact that the phallic dances of Greece and Mexico are held to be intimately connected with the origin of drama,[13] it may be probable that similar has been the case in India too, for Siva's phallic character is well-known and may indeed go back to a very remote antiquity. A god like Śiva-Paśupati seems to have existed even among the early Indus people, and his phallic connection may also be assumed from the enblems of this kind found in abundance in Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

In the Ṛgveda we find a class of hostile people designated as *śiśnadevas* or 'worshipper of phallus'. Yāska (circa 600 B.C,) who would like to interpret the term differently need not be taken seriously, for his explanation seems to be fanciful and misleading as in the cases of the numerous other words.

But whatever may be the antiquity of the *phallic* Śiva, no early evidence of his connection with dance or drama is available. The Indus people probably had a phallic deity like Śiva, and from the bronze statuette of a female dancer recovered from the Mohenjo-daro, it appears that they had a dance also; but we have no means of knowing whether these two had any connection, though such a connection does not seem to be altogether an impossibility.

Even in later times we do not find Śiva in his phallic character playing any part in dance or drama. Indeed Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti adore Śive in the beginning of their plays, but the phallic character of the deity is absent there. But even if we possess no clear evidence of the connection of the phallic Śiva with drama and dance, there are facts which may be said to point to the phallic affinity of dance and drama. It is quite possible that due to some obscenity in them, Buddha prohibited the monks to attend song, dance and instrumental music and to witness the *pekkhā* (*prekṣā*) which was nothing but a dramatic representation. It may be that samāja mentioned in Aśoka's edict (Rock 1) included such *pekkhās*. Hence for the moral uplift of his subjects this great monarch exhorted them not to witness these. And from a passage in the Nāṭyaśāstra (XXIV. 294-296) which prohibits any kind of obscene representation on the stage, it may be assumed that drama was once associated with an obscenity (probably of ritual origin) which required in later times a rule for its abolition. Another fact in this connection may be that in the Pūjā of the Śakti or Durgā, dance and song of an obscene kind were a necessary part.[14] Now this Śakti is the consort of Śiva. It is however not to conclude that Śiva in his phallic character had any connection with the drama in its historical period, though the possibility of such a connection with its origin is not altogether ruled out.

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[13] Keith, *Skt. Drama*, p. 16.

Now we are to consider whether Śiva was connected with the origin of drama as a god of destruction. Of this too, we possess no clear evidence except that Śiva is called Mahākāla, 'the great destroyer' and this for his function as a member of the Hindu Trinity.

But whatever may be his actual character in relation to drama, the pre-Aryan Śiva's connection with the origin of drama seems to rest on more or less solid grounds.

5 *Date of the Rise of Indo-Aryan Drama*

Though we have seen that the origin of the Hindu drama may be dated before Pāṇini when rituals connected with Śiva might have gradually given rise to this art, we do not possess any definite idea about the time when such an event occurred. Some scholars have discovered the beginning of drama in the Vedic age, while others would like to date this much later. · Indeed Pāṇini who is now generally believed to have flourished about 500 B.C. mentions the Naṭasūtras which may be taken as manuals of dramaturgy and historionics. But Weber and, following him, Sten Konow have denied that such may be the case, and they opined that the Naṭasūtras were meant for dancers and pantomimists, though according to Lévi and Hillebrandt these sūtras relate to actors and drama.[15] This latter view seems to be reasonable and is in agreement with what one can deduce from some aspects of the classification of Hindu dramas.

Though none so far seem to have taken notice of this fact, the ten kinds of drama described in the Nāṭyaśāstra (c. 200 A.C) fall into five distinct types which are as follows:

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[14] D. C. Sircar, "The Śākta Pīṭhas", in *JRASB.*, vol. XIV. no. I, 1948, pp. 105-106.

[15] Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, p.

I. *One Act plays in a monologue,* Ex: Bhāna.[16]

II. *One Act plays with one or two characters,* Ex: Vīthī.

III. *One Act plays on different kinds of subject matters and more characters,* Ex: Vyāyoga, Prahasana, and Utsṛṣṭikāṅka.

IV. (a) *Plays with three loosely knit Acts and many characters,* Ex: Samavakāra.

(b) *Plays with four such acts and many characters,* ex: Dima and Īhāmṛga.

V. *Plays with five to ten well-knit Acts and many characters,* Ex: Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa.

In spite of their mutual differences, these five types of play seem to be genetically connected with one another, the more elaborate types developing out of the less elaborate ones, and as such they could not have come out all at once.

And it is possible that each of these types took quite a long time to develop and to be followed gradually by more elaborate types which developed later on. On the basis of this assumption alone, it may be possible to infer that some kind of drama existed long before Pāṇini. Analogy of the development of western drama during modern times may throw some helpful light in this matter, for if we take into consideration the fact that it took nearly four centuries and a half for the Miracle and Mystery plays to develop into full-fledged Shakespearian drama which in its turn had existed for two enturies and a half before Henrik Ibsen could create a new form of plays, it may be assumed that the average time required for the development of one type of play from another may be about three hundred and fifty years. And even if a sufficient allowance is made for the margin of error, this average time may not in any case be less than two centuries and a half. Calculated on this basis, the five different types of plays described in the Nāṭyaśāstra may have taken about not less than twelve hundred years to develop

Now the first available drama in a finished form of the type V, being written by Aśvaghoṣa probably in the 1st century A.C., the origin of the Indo-Aryan drama may be dated about 1100 B.C. Another fact which points to the high antiquity of this drama, appears to be the very prominent position of old Indo-Aryan (Skt) in the dramatic literature. This language seems to have been originally adopted as a *Bühnen-sprache*, because of its being the everyday speech of the people for whom the drama was created. Now there is ample evidence to prove that from about 600 B.C., the old Indo-Aryan already changed distinctly to Middle Indo-Aryan which is another name of Pkt., in a wider sense. Hence the origin of the Indo-Aryan drama probably occurred much before 600 B.C. when Old Indo-Aryan was the only language in constant use among the Aryans. Nothing but this could give such a tremendous force to the convention of using Sanskrit in a drama that it has outlived many centuries. For example, Bhāsa composed one entire drama (Pañca-rātra) in this antiquated language. And the Mahānāṭaka another play not later than the 10th century has also been written exclusively in Sanskrit.

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[16] For definitions of this and other types of drama mentioned below see *NS.* XX.

6. *Drama and the Epic*

Now after having formed some rough idea about the time when in all likelihood the Indo-Aryan drama arose in connection with religious ritual, a determination of the forces that might have helped in its development remains to be ascertained. Though it may be assumed that the worshippers of Śiva developed from their ritual song and dance a monologue play possibly in a Non-Aryan language, it is not clear how the speakers of Indo-Aryan adopted this art-form and developed it into a drama with two actors.

But from the Ṛgveda we learn that dramatic dialogue was not unknown to the Aryans. The Saṃvāda hymns, for which no ritual use has been prescribed by the tradition, have indeed been taken as a kind of drama by Max Müller and Sylvain Lévi ; and Joh. Hertel and L. Von Schroeder have tried to prove that these hymns are really dialogues belonging to some dramatic performance connected with a religious cult.[17] Oldenberg however had a different theory about these hymns. He thought that the oldest form of the epic poetry in India was the Ākhyāna, a tale in a mixture of prose and verse, the speeches of the persons only being in verse, while the events connected with the speeches were narrated in prose. But originally only the verses used to be committed to memory and handed down, while the prose story was left to be narrated by every reciter in his own words.[18] This theory of Oldenberg, though it may not be accepted in its entirety, is very suggestive and may give us a clue as to the relation between the epic and the drama—a relation which has also been suggested by a passage in the Nāṭyaśāstra.[19] The custom of reciting the epics for pious listeners is indeed very old. After this recitation was in vogue for some time the reciter gradually took the aid of an actor or actors to represent more vividly the events of the story he was to describe. His method of taking this help was probably as follows: He recited only the most significant portion of a narrative in separate small instalments, and at the intervals of such recitations actors appeared and represented dramatically, through improvised speeches in accompaniment of gestures, the contents of what he uttered. As organised dialogues and co-ordinated scenes were yet to be invented, the reciter had to introduce characters who entered the stage and to point out the link between their talks to each other. This form seems to have survived, though in a slightly altered form, in the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ of medieval Assam.[20] It was probably due to his function of supplying on the one hand the connecting link between the different parts of the narrative recited by him, and on the other the relation of the characters who entered the stage, with the narrative in hand, that the reciter was called the *sūtradhāra*[21] or 'one who holds the thread (of the story)'. Another name for *sūtradhāra* was probably *granthika* which meant 'one who works in connexion with a *grantha* (book)' i.e. recites from it.[22] Taken in this sense the passage in which the word occurs will be intelligible. Patañjali, it seems, had in view this kind of primitive drama from the epic when he described the work of a *granthika*. But besides this he seems to have known also of the more developed kind of drama. The influence of the epic upon the development of drama also may be said to strengthen the case of its antiquity. The *Mahābhārata* is based on the exploits of the heroes of the battle of Kurukṣetra, which was taken to be an historical event occurring in about the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The ballads composed about the deeds of the principal heroes, which furnished the nucleus of the epic, were in all likelihood composed shortly after this great event. This would place the beginning of the epic at least in its shorter form, roughly at about the 10th century B.C. We have seen before that the drama of a very crude type arose probably one century earlier.

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[17] M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1927, vol. I, pp. 100ff.

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[18] *Ibid.*

[19] See the Translation, pp. 4-5.

[20] See the Appendix where a specimen of this variety of drama has been given in a slight abridged translation.

[21] A *Sūtradhāra*-like character appears also in the very primitive Ceylonese dance-drama of Indian orgin. See M. Ghosh, The Sinhalese Dance and the Indian Nāṭya in *Indo-Asian Culture*, vol. I, (1952) p. 180.

[22] Keith, *Skt. Drama*, p. 45,

7. *The Drama and the Ancient Aryan Tribes*

Though the Hindu drama was in all likelihood of pre-Aryan origin, the contribution of the Aryan tribes towards its development was perhaps not inconsiderable. The fact that the available dramatic literature is written exclusively in Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit and Prakrit) may well be the basis of this assumption. The names of the Styles of Procedure (*Vṛtti*) in producing a play, may also be said to point to some Indo-Aryan tribe which played a prominent part in developing the ancient Indian drama. For example, the Bhāratī Vṛtti seems to have come from the Bharatas, a well-known Indo-Aryan tribe. As the profuse use of Sanskrit is the special characteristic of this style, we may identify these Bharatas with the Vedic tribe of that name. The word 'Bharata' which later came to mean 'an actor' becomes comparable to Māgadha, the usual appellation of 'a bard', which also came from a tribal name. Of ethnic affiliation of the Sāttvatas who gave the Sāttvatī Style its name, we are not sure. But they too, being associated with the Yadus of the *Mahābhārata*, were perhaps an Indo-Aryan tribe. We do not, however, know of any tribe called 'Arabhaṭa' and 'Keśika' who might have respectively given rise to the Ārabhaṭī and Kaiśikī Styles. It does not seem quite unlikely that these once existed and were later extinct or merged with the other tribes. But in spite of a paucity of direct evidence, our assumption about the tribal contribution towards the development of the Indian drama may not be considered fanciful. For in modern times too, it is found that certain types of plays are originally associated with particular nations. For example, the operas are related to the Italians, Shakespearian comedies and tragedies to the English, and the Ibsenian problem-plays to the Norwegians.

8. *The Lost Dramatic literature*

But whatever might be the contribution of different Indo-Aryan tribes towards the development of ancient Hindu drama, in the absence of suitable data, its chronology cannot be ascertained. Such data in the shape of a large number of dramatic works may well be taken to have once existed. This will be evident to one who knows the history of the gradual discovery of the extant dramatic literature of the Hindus from the last quarter of the eighteenth century down to our own times. Though the number of plays known by their title are now about 550, Wilson in his work on the Hindu Theatre (1827) could cite only 60 names, while Fitzedward Hall added 20 more to the number in his Introduction to the Daśarūpa (1865). Afterwards Sylvain Lévi gave in his *Le Théâtre indien* (1890) about 375 names in all, while Sten Konow in his *Das Indische Drama* (1920) and A. B. Keith in his *Sanskrit Drama* (1924) gave 80 more names. To this should be added 91 new plays mentioned by Sāgaranandin, Abhinavagupta, Sāradātanaya and Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra, and the four Bhāṇas published as the *Caturbhāṇī*. And the reason why the dramatic literature of very early times has not come down to us might be as follows:

It is possible that the writing of plays in the pre-historic period of the Hindu drama rested solely with the professional playwrights attached to individual theatrical troupes. The Nāṭyaśāstra indeed mentions such playwrights belonging to theatrical parties.[23] From the difinition of the playwright given there, it appears that his art did not reach the complexity which appeared in the classical plays of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa etc. It may therefore be permissible to assume that every theatrical party zealously guarded the use of its successful pieces by their rivals. Under these circumstances, plays have little chance of outliving the time of their first production. As the vogue of a particular play changed it came to be altogether lost.

(To be continued)

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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[23] *NS* Chowkhamba ed. XXXV. 77; Kāvyamālā ed. XXXV. 31.

Bhāturiyā Inscription of Rājyapāla

This inscription is incised on a stone-slab and has been discovered by Mr. Mirza Mokhtaruddin Ahmad, M.A., Superintendent of Police, Rajshahi, in the mosque of Bhāturiyā, in the village of Bhāturiyā under the Police Station Mohonpur in the district of Rajshahi. The village Bhāturiyā is about 20 miles from Rajshahi town. The villagers presumably came across it on a piece of fallow land of the village, wherefrom they, not alive to its historical and epigraphical importance, removed it to the mosque. The slab was used there during ablution (*oju*). Mr. Mirza Mokhtaruddin Ahmad brought it down to Rajshahi and offered it to Rajshahi Varendra Research Society's Museum on the 2nd August, 1954. It is now being edited for the first time.

The *slab* is in a fairly good state of preservation. In a few cases some letters have been slightly damaged, but they can be made out without much difficulty from the traces left behind. The engraver has performed his work excellently and, undoubtedly, with great care. Near the middle of the slab some portion has been smoothed out without doing much damage to the letters engraved therein.

The stone on which it is engraved measures 1′ 7″ on one side and 1′ 7⅛″ on the other in length, and 11⅞″ on one side and 11¾″ on the other in breadth. The inscribed surface measures 1′ 6⅛″x 10½″ approximately. The size of the most of the letters is about ⅜″.

The *inscription* consists of 20 lines. The first 19 lines are almost uniform in length, while the 20th line is 1 foot in length. The engraver has an excellent artistic sense. The 20th line which is shorter in length, is artistically placed, almost equal space being left out from both sides.

The *characters* belong to a variety of the Northern Nāgarī as was current in North-Eastern India towards the end of the 9th century A.C. and the beginning of the 10th century A.C.

A few points of *paleographical* interest is noted below :—

(i) The letter *a* in *aṭṭa*° (l.2) appears to be slightly different in shape from *a* in *aṣṭābbhiḥ* (l.14).

(ii) *-u* and *-ra* are sometimes similar: compare °*bhugna*° in line 2 with °*bhraṁśo*° in line 1, and sometimes different:

compare °*bhugna*° of line 2 with °*bhogīndra*° of line 2; in the latter case *-ra* is a long line.

(iii) *-ū* is almost like *-ta* in form (e.g., °*mūla*° in line 2)

(iv) *ga* in °*garvvitai*° (l.8) is slightly different from *ga* in °*rapagata*° (l.10); but the difference is negligible.

(v) *ta* are of two kinds: one very common, and the other slightly thin as in °*liṅgākṛti*° (l.15). *ta* used in °*vyadhita*° (l.8) is slightly different from both of them. Mark *t* in *yāvat* (l.19) indicated by a sign.

(vi) The letter *śa* in *praśastai*° (l.14) looks almost like *ga* in *jāgartti* (l.13), evidently due to the fact that the surface has been smoothened out.

Other peculiarities are almost the same as in the Bādāl Pillar Inscription.

The *language* of the record is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of the introductory *oṁ svasti* in line 1, the entire inscription is in verse. It contains altogether 15 verses which are composed in a variety of metres, viz., Sragdharā, Anuṣṭubh, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mandākrāntā, Hariṇī, Vasantatilaka and Upajāti. Sragdharā, Anuṣṭubh and Śārdūlavikrīḍita are used each thrice; Mandākrāntā and Vasantatilaka each twice; and Upajāti and Hariṇī each once.

As regards *orthography* it should be noted that

(i) both the letters *ba* and *va* are denoted by the same sign;

(ii) after a superscript *r* letters *da*, *ma*, *ga*, *va*, *ta*, *ja*, *ṇa* and *la* are doubled. But '*da*' in °*śilairdeva*° (l.12) is not doubled. There is, however, no doubling in the letters *bha*, *ha*, *ya*, *tha* and *gha*;

(iii) the *anusvāra* is preferably indicated by a dot; if the following letter is dental (i.e. *na*, *dha or da*), it is usually changed into *n*. Whenever there is *ba* or *va* after *anusvāra*, *anusvāra* has been changed into *m* and an euphonic combination is operated with the following *ba or va*, though a combination of *m* with *va* is not permitted by grammarians;

(iv) *Candravindu* ँ is used instead of *n* in one place only; *Yasmiँsta*° (l.11), and it came as a result of euphonic combination (*sandhi*);

(v) the engraver has done away with the sign of *virāma* by

(a) either changing all *m* to *anusvāra* or by euphonic combination of *m* with the letter following it; (b) by combining *n* with the following letter; and (c) by combining *t* with the following letter or by euphonic combination of *t* with the letter following it. Thus the intelligent engraver saves space. Only *t* in *yāvat* (l.19) requires *virāma*, but as already noted a special sign is used for *t* there; (vi) no *avagraha* sign is used in any place of the document.

There is a spelling mistake in the word *sasya* (l.9). The correct form will be *śasya*.

The record refers to the reign of King Rājyapāla. It opens with a benedictory verse. Dance of God Śiva is eulogised and protection is sought thereof. In the second verse, the abode of the Dāsa community is mentioned. *Aṭṭamūla* in *Bṛhaddhaṭṭā*[1] is said to be the place where the Dāsas lived. These places cannot be located. Possibly they were not far from the place where the inscription is found, and were undoubtedly somewhere in North Bengal. An account of Malhadāsa, Śūradāsa and Saṅghadāsa of the Dāsa family is given. The way Malhadāsa is described, and the fact that Dāsa dynasty is not traced earlier than him, prove that he was an important person in that family. The activities of his son and grandson also won name and fame. Saṅghadāsa's son was Yaśodāsa. He was the most famous person in the family. It is evident from the description of father and grandfather of Yaśodāsa that the Dāsa family was held in high esteem for their wealth and prowess. The personal qualities of Yaśodāsa paved his way to his appointment as the (Prime) Minister of King Rājyapāla. Yaśodāsa was married to the daughter of *Sūrya Kuṇḍa* and *Dūrvāyī*. This Sūrya Kuṇḍa also was not a very unimportant person, as matrimonial relation was keenly sought with this family. He was compared to the Himālaya in the inscription, obviously from the poetic point of view. The genealogical table of the Dāsas is as follows:

Malhadāsa
|
Śūradāsa
|
Saṅghadāsa
|
Yaśodāsa = daughter of Sūrya Kuṇḍa
and Dūrvāyī.

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[1] *Bṛhaddhaṭṭā* > *Bhāduriā* (?) > *Bhāturiyā* (?)

Yaśodāsa was the (Prime) Minister of King Rājyapāla. Rājyapāla is well known. So, nothing is spoken of him except his military enterprises. It is stated that while Yaśodāsa was in office, King Rājyapāla commanded allegiance from the Mlecchas, and kings of Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Oḍra, Pāṇḍya, Karṇāṭa, Lāta, Suhma and Gurjara (ll. 10-12).

Towards the end of the inscription, Yaśodāsa is said to have performed many humanitarian and religious activities in the form of excavation of tanks and construction of temples, monasteries, palaces, bridges etc. It is further said that he built a magnificent edifice surrounded by eight temples, and placed the image of God Śiva in the form of *liṅga*.

The object of the inscription is to record the bequest by King Rājyapāla the rent-free village, viz. Madhusrava to God Śiva established by Yaśodāsa. Then the customary prayer for the protection and preservation of the arrangements thus established follow in a new style. The name of the engraver is Nidhāna mentioned in the concluding verse.

The historical importance of the inscription may now be discussed. Rājyapāla has to his credit the following records: (i) Nālandā Pillar Inscription of the year 24, (ii) Kurkihār Image Inscription of the year 28, (iii) Kurkihār Image Inscription of the year 31, (iv) Kurkihār Image Inscription of the year 32 (31?), (v) Kurkihār Image Inscription of the year 32. These inscriptions prove that Rājyapāla ruled for not less than 32 years and that he had for his wife Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Tuṅga and that he had excavated big tanks and built big temples. The inscription under discussion describes for the first time the military activities of the King. In the lines 10 and 11, we come across the account of these activities.

The total inactivity of Vigrahapāla I and the weakness of Nārāyaṇapāla were enough to liquidate the vast Pāla empire. The result is that Rājyapāla had to take up fresh expeditions in order to save the Pāla empire from precipitous fall. So, Rājyapāla had to store up a large amount of gold (*bahutithair hemnāñcayair arjitai,°* line 8), procure big battle elephants (*mātaṅgairmmadagarvvitai,°* line 9) and build up a strong army (*aśvorasair bhūmijai,°* line 8). Such an elaborate preparation seems to have been very necessary for military expedition because Pāla power had been much crippled. After this preparation, Rājyapāla set out for an expedition. It is said that

Mlecchas, Aṅgas, Kāliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Oḍras, Pāṇḍ[illegible] Karṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Suhmas and Gurjaras—all acknowledged his suzerainty (lines 10-12).

Mlecchas: It is said that Rājyapāla almost extirpated the Mlecchas (*Mlecchair ucchannakalpaiḥ*, l-10). The Mlecchas referred to here must be the Muslims who set their footing in India long ago. It is claimed in the present record that Rājyapāla encountered some of these Muslims in a battle and achieved considerable success. Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla (verse 12) furnishes an idea of the extension of Dharmapāla's empire. The Yavana king referred to therein must have been an Ārab ruler. The Mlecchas referred to in the Bhāturiyā Inscription are also some Ārab rulers in the Indus valley.

Aṅgas: The country Aṅgà is generally taken to be the kingdom about the Bhāgalpur district of Bihār. But the inscriptions of the Pālas discovered in Bihār[2] prove beyond doubt that Bihār had been within the dominion of the Pālas. The Sirur Inscription of 866 A.C. however mentions the kingdoms of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha and informs us that the kings of these places paid homage to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa. In Deoli Copper-plate Amoghavarṣa's son, Kṛṣṇa II claims that Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga and Magadha were under his suzerainty. Khajuraho Inscriptions (Nos. II and IV) inform us that the Cāṇḍella king Dhaṅga imprisoned the queens of Rāḍha and Aṅga sometime in the 10th century A.C. During the reign of Rāmapāla, in the 11th century A.C., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Mahaṇa, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, was the ruler of Aṅga. It is to be noted that Mahaṇa, the conqueror of Devarakṣita, king of Pīṭhi,[3] assisted Rāmapāla in his encounter against Bhīma not in the capacity of a vassal chief but for the matrimonial relations. So, the natural conclusion is: either Aṅga had never been a part of the Pāla empire or it had been lost to the Pālas at the time of Vigrahapāla I. We are in favour of accepting the latter view. Gopāla or Dharmapāla annexed Aṅga to his empire, Devapāla inherited it, Vigrahapāla I lost it, Nārāyaṇapāla's position is not better than his father's, and Rājyapāla made up the loss to some extent by defeating the king of Aṅga (*parijanavikalai*°—line 10 of the inscription under discussion).

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[2] Nālandā Copper-plate of Dharmapāla, Monghyr Copper-plate of Devapāla, Bihār Image Inscription of Vigrahapāla I, Bhāgalpur Copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, Nālandā Pillar Inscription of Rājyapāla etc.

[3] *Rāmacaritam* II.8, and Sāranāth Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, p. 326.

Pāṇḍyas: —According to the verse 13 of the Bādāl Pillar Inscription, Devapāla defeated Draviḍas. If Draviḍa denotes the South Indian Peninsula and if the Draviḍa king had been no other than the Pāṇḍya king Śrī-Māra Śrī Vallabha who ruled about 815-862 A.C. as suggested in the *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 120, we may safely account for the submission of Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha's grandson who ruled contemporaneously with Rājyapāla. Rājyapāla set out on an expedition against the reigning kiṅg of Pāṇḍya whoever he may be and defeated him (*apagata-kapaṭaiḥ Pāṇḍya*°— line 11 of the Bhāturiyā Inscription).

Karṇāṭas: —The Karṇāṭa country is a part of the Carnatic between Rāmnād and Seringapatam. Rājyapāla defeated possibly the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The Cālukya king might be the father of Tailapa.

Lāṭas: —The kingdom of Lāṭa in Gujrāt is possibly referred to here. Rājyapāla defeated the king of Lāṭa. This king might be some weak ruler of the Cālukya dynasty almost ruined at that period.

Suhmas: —Suhma possibly comprised a part of the present West Bengal i.e. the districts of Hoogly, Howrāh, Bāṅkurā, Burdwān and eastern Midnāpur. The name of the king of Suhma whom Rājyapāla defeated is not known.

Gurjaras: —The Pratihāras of Gurjara suffered successive defeats from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and could not stand against the attack of Rājyapāla. The marriage alliance of Rājyapāla with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Tuṅga possibly helped him to defeat the king of Gurjara. The Gurjara king who suffered defeat is possibly Bhoja II or Mahīpāla I.

Kāliṅgas: —The Gaṅgas are the rulers of Kāliṅga from about the 7th century A.C. onwards. The rulers have *Varman* for their title, and they claim to be the lords of *Sakala-Kaliṅga*. The power of Gaṅgas temporarily ebbed out, and this might be due to the attack of Rājyapāla in the 10th century, A.C. on Gunārṇava II (Guṇamahārṇava) or on Kāmārṇava IV.

Vaṅgas: —Vaṅga comprised some portions of East Bengal. There was a Candra king named Layahacandradeva[4] whose kingdom was somewhere near Comillā sometime in the 10th century A.C. Rājyapāla possibly defeated this Layahacandradeva or his father.

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[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, 351.

Oḍras : —Devapāla claims to have totally exterminated the Utkalas[5]. Kara dynasty of Orissā was possibly crushed by Devapāla. During Rājyapāla's reign, Śailodbhava dynasty was the ruling family of Orissā. Sainyabhīta III Mādhavavarman Śrīnivāsa (850 A.C.) and his successors of this dynasty have been powerful enough to perform Aśvamedha and other sacrifices[6]. The attack of Rājyapāla makes the plight of one of the successors of Sainyabhīta III Mādhavavarman Śrīnivāsa very miserable[7]. It reminds us of the plight of a king of Utkala, possibly of Kara dynasty, at the time of the attack of Jayapāla, brother of Devapāla[8].

Let us now discuss Yaśodāsa. From an article, "*Bāṅgālā Nāma Rahasya*", by Śree Byomkeśa Mustaphī in the *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, No. 1, 1315 B.S. we know that Dāsa is the title of the following communities in Bengal: —*Vaidya*, *Vārui*, *Caṇḍāla*, *Dhopā* (washerman), *Gandhavaṇika*, *Kaivartta* (*cāṣī*), *Kāmāra* (blacksmith), *Kāyastha* (*Dakṣiṇa* and *Uttara Rāḍhī*, *Vaṅgaja* and *Vārendra*), *Koca Rājavaṁśī*, *Kumbhakāra* (potter), *Māli* (gardener), *Jele* (fisherman), *Mālā*, *Nāpita* (barber), *Sadgopa*, *Śānkhārī*, *Suvarṇavaṇika* (goldsmith) *Śuṇḍī* (wine merchant), *Tāntī* (weaver) and *Kānsārī* (dealers in bell-metal). Now Yaśodāsa's father-in-law is Sūrya Kuṇḍa, and Kuṇḍa title is found according to Mr. Mustaphī, in the following communities : —

Vaidya, *Vārui*, *Gandhavaṇika*, *Kāyastha* (*Daksiṇa Rāḍhī* and *Vaṅgaja*), *Jele*, *Mālā*, *Śāknhārī Chutāra* (carpenter), *Tāmbulī*, *Tāntī* and *Telī* (oil manufacturers).

Rājyapāla's choice of minister is expected to be from a high caste. It is either from *Kāyastha* class or from the *Kaivartta* (*cāṣī*) class of people. We are in favour of regarding Dāsas as *Kaivartta* (*cāṣī*). Reasons for such a conjecture will be explicit from the following paragraphs. It may be admitted—here that there is one difficulty in placing Yaśodāsa in the *Kaivartta* (*cāṣī*) class. Kuṇḍas are not *Kaivartta* (*cāṣī*) though Kuṇḍus are so, as Mr. Mustaphī informs us in his article. It is difficult to say that *Kaivartta Cāṣīs* never use Kuṇḍa for their title. It is also likely that the composer of the verses of Bhāturiyā Inscription corrects Kuṇḍa for Kuṇḍu, make the word

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5 Bādāl Pillar Inscription : verse 13 : *utkīlitotkalakulaṁ*.

6 *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, X. 14.

7 *Oḍrair uḍḍīnajīvai°*—line 10 of Bhāturiyā Inscription.

8 Bhāgalpur Copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, verse 6.

Sanskritic in appearance and uses it as the dual of genitive case. Moreover, it may be pointed out that there is no rigorous division of castes and there prevails no bar against such matrimonial relations in the 10th century A.C.—a bar which is found in the 12th century A.C. during the reign of Vallālasena.

We know from Bādāl Pillar Inscription that Garga and his descendants were Prime Ministers of Dharmapāla and his successors down to Nārāyaṇapāla who had Gurava Miśra for his Prime Minister. The Kamauli Copper-plate of Vaidyadeva also mentions Brāhmaṇic Prime Ministers for Pāla Kings. Yogadeva was the Prime Minister of Vigrahapāla III, Bodhideva was that of Rāmapāla and Vaidyadeva that of Kumārapāla. It is claimed in verse 3 of the Kamauli Grant that the office of (Prime) Minister with Yogadeva is hereditary (*yasya vaṁśakrameṇābhut sacivaḥ*). We are in favour of interpreting the verse 3 thus: "The line of Yogadeva becomes the (Prime) Minister of Vigrahapāla and his descendants." In that case the first (Prime) Minister of Yogadeva's line is Yogadeva himself. It is to be noted that Yogadeva's father is not mentioned, possibly because he never held any such office.

Whatever may it be, there is a gap between Gurava Miśra, the Prime Minister of Nārāyaṇapāla, and Yogadeva, the Prime Minister of Vigrahapāla III. Yaśodāsa and possibly his descendants fill up this gap. The word "*mantrī*" found in Bāngarh copper-plate of Mahīpāla I, and Āmgāchi copper-plate of Vigrahapāla III, is used for "Prime Minister", and the word "*saciva*" is used for the same purpose in the Kamauli copper-plate of Vaidyadeva. The words *mantrī* (l-7) and *saciva* (l-7) used in the Bhāturiyā Inscription of Rājyapāla also stand for Prime Minister. The way in which these two epithets are used in the Inscription leaves little scope for doubt that Yaśodāsa worked as Prime Minister of Rājyapāla. The reason why Rājyapāla had to appoint Yaśodāsa as his (Prime) Minister is indirectly hinted at in the expression *aśvorasir bhūmijai°* (line 8). Rājyapāla is undoubtedly largely assisted by these *Kaivartta* (*cāṣīs*) of the *Vaiśya* class in his military expedition. Yaśodāsa is possibly the chief of these *Kaivartta* (*cāṣīs*) and the post of (Prime) Minister is naturally offered to him. Yaśodāsa amply demonstrated his utility to the King in recruiting soldiers from amongst his own class of people who exhibited their heroism in many battles. Yaśodāsa possibly thus succeeded in making the post hereditary. That the post became hereditary with Yaśodāsa is, we admit, wholly conjectural. But some indirect evidence can be furnished to show that there is some truth in our conjecture.

Attention of the scholars may be drawn to another important point. It is now known to all from *Rāmacaritam* of Sandhyākaranandin that Divya (alias Divyoka, and Divoka[9]) occupied Vārendrī[10]. It is further stated that Divya held a high office under Mahīpāla II. Divya is said to be a *dasyu* and *upadhivratī*[10]. It is evident from these two epithets that Divya usurped the royal throne like a *dasyu* i.e. plunderer. The meaning of the word *upadhivratī* is a complex one. The commentator explains the word as *avaśyakartavyatayā ārabdhaṁ karma vrataṁ chadmani vratī*. The word *vrata* means 'an action performed as an imperative duty'. The word *upadhi* prefixed to the word *vratī* is explained as *chadmani* which is generally explained as a 'pretension'. It is clear that when there was a rebellion of feudal vassals[11] Rāmapāla and his brother Śūrapāla were in the prison. Mahīpāla II was possibly slain not by Divya (Divvoka), but by these vassals in the battle-field. Rāmapāla and his brother fled away at this time. The kingdom was left unprotected and Divya (Divvoka), a high official of Mahīpāla II, took the throne on the pretext to protect his master's kingdom from chaos and foreign invasion. But Divvoka, Rudhoka and Bhīma ruled the kingdom successively without offering it to their master's sons Rāmapāla and Śūrapāla. This explains the epithets *dasyu* and *upadhivratī*. There is not a single word in *Rāmacaritam* to prove that Mahīpāla II was assassinated by Divya (Divvoka) or by Bhīma.

Whatever may it be, it is clearly stated in *Rāmacaritam* that Divya (Divvoka) was a high official under Mahīpāla II, a fact borne out by the expression: *m(āṁ)sabhujoccairdaśakena......Divyāhvayena*[12] which is explained in the Commentary as: *māṁsabhujā lakṣmyā aṁśaṁ bhuñjānena bhṛtyenoccair-daśakena— uccair mahatī daśā avasthā yasyātyucchriteneyarthaḥ*. In fact Divya (Divvoka) held such an important and elevated position that he enjoyed the royal fortune to some extent at least. Now who can that be? He was obviously either the Prime Minister or the Commander-in-chief, and he exerted definitely a great deal of influence on the Pāla king. We admit that there is some difficulty in identifying him with the Prime Minister in face of the Commentary to l.31[13] of *Rāmacaritam* where it is said that disregarding the advice of the (Prime) Minister proficient in politics, Mahīpāla II, accompanied by a small number of soldiers, proceeded against the vassal chiefs. Now who is this Prime Minister? It appears that either Yogadeva or his son Bodhideva had been the Prime Minister of Mahīpāla II, and that Divya had adorned the office of Commander-in-chief or some such office as exalted as that of the Prime Minister.

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[9] *Rāmacaritam* I. 38, I, 38-39 Commentary, and I. 31 Commentary.

[10] *Rāmacaritam*, I. 38.

[11] *milit(ā)nanta-sāmanṭa-cakra°*, Commentary to I. 31 of *Rāmacaritam*.

[12] I. 38.

We find from the inscription under discussion that Yaśodāsa is the (Prime) Minister of King Rājyapāla. If it is assumed that Pāla kings accepted a new line of prime ministers from the time of King Rājyapāla, we come to the following conclusions:

(i) Yaśodāsa was a Kaivarta chief;

(ii) he had been powerful enough to be appointed as a (Prime) minister;

(iii) his descendants also held some very important offices, might be even the post of a prime minister;

(iv) the line of Yaśodāsa continued to hold some sort of post as held by him.

(v) Divya (Divvoka) was possibly of the same line and held a very high post under King Mahīpāla II.

If this surmise be correct, allowing about 30 years for every descendant, Divya became fifth or sixth in descent from Yaśodāsa (?) 908 A.C. was the approximate year of accession to the throne for Rājyapāla, and 1070 A.C. was that for Mahīpāla II. For these 162 years the *Kaivartta* chiefs had been offered high offices (the post of prime minister or some similar post), were held in high esteem, and as good soldiers had been of immense assistance to the royal power.

It is admitted that much of the above statements is based on surmise save these three facts:

(i) Yaśodāsa is referred to in the present inscription as the (Prime) Minister of King Rājyapāla. Yaśodāsa was either of the Kāyastha community or of the Kaivartta community. We take him as one of the latter community, specially for

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[13] *sāḍguṇyagaṇyasya mantriṇo guṇitamavaguṇayan.*

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the words *aśvorasair-bhūmijai*,[0] which occur in the eighth line of the present record. Yaśodāsa also evidently belonged to this community of *bhūmija cāṣī*.

(ii) Rājyapāla was said to have taken the assistance of these *aśvorasa bhūmija*-s (l.8).

(iii) Divya (Divvoka) is referred to in *Rāmacaritam* as a high official sharing royal fortune.

Historians are to find out whether it is possible to establish any link between Yaśodāsa and Divya (Divvoka). There is undoubtedly some "missing link" of history; Divya surely does not seem to have burst forth into eminence at the time of Mahīpāla II. A history of 162 years is behind this. Power and energy, name and fame accumulated for a long time to pave the path of Divya (Divvoka); otherwise Divya must have to face some insurmountable obstruction in usurping the throne with the death of Mahīpāla II. The line of the eminent personage perhaps starts with Yaśodāsa, and Divya too presumably belongs to it.

The inscription is important for the study of religion as well. Pāla kings are known to be Buddhists. It is of special importance to note that a Buddhist king is allotting the income of a village to the maintenance of a Hindu god. The rent-free village Madhusrava is recorded to have been granted to God Śiva by King Rājyapāla[14].

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[14] Read in this connection my article entitled "Religious Toleration in Ancient India", published in Monograph No. VIII, Varendra Research Society.

TEXT

1. Oṁ[1] svasti| [2]Vellad-dor-ddaṇḍa-veg-ānila-vihata-mahā-kṣmā-dhar-ottuṅga-śṛṅga-grāva-bhraṁś-opajāta-dhvani-cakita-calad-dig--gaj-on-mukta-nādaṁ[3]| pāda-nyāsā-

2. nnimajjad-dharaṇi-tala-bhar-ābhugna-bhogīndra-bhogan[4]=nṛtt-am[4]=vaḥ[4] pātu Śambhor=mmukuṭa - śaśi- kalā-liṅgita-vyoma-candraṁ[5]|| [I*][6] *Aṭṭ* (*ā*) *mūlam*[7]=iti sthānam=*Vṛhaddhaṭṭā*[8]-

3. vinirggataṁ[9]| śucīnān[10] dharmma-śīlānāṁ[11] *Dāsānām*=asti janma-bhūḥ|| [II*][12] Vaṁśe=[13]' smin[14] payasān[15] nidhāv=iva śaśī śrī-*Malhadāso* bhava-khyātas=tat-tanayo=[13]' pi śaurya-

4. nilayaḥ śrī-*Śūradāsaḥ* kṛtī| tat[16]-sūnuñ=ca samasta-nandita-suhṛt[17] sammānit-ābhyāgataḥ sevyo Rohaṇa-bhū-dhara pratisamaḥ śrī-*Saṅghadāso*=[18]' rthināṁ[19]|| [III*]

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[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] Metre: Sragdharā.

[3] Read: *nādam.*

[4] Read: *bhogaṁ nṛttaṁ vaḥ.*

[5] Read: *candram.*

[6] Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

[7] Only the upper portion of *ā*, shown in brackets, is engraved, the lower portion is totally absent. The name of the place seems to be *Aṭṭamūla* and not *Aṭṭāmūla.*

[8] Read: *sthānam=Bṛhaddhaṭṭā.*

[9] Read: *vinirggatam.*

[10] Read: *śucīnāṁ.* In the original inscription °*ṁ* has been changed into °*n* and combined with the following *dha*°.

[11] *anusvāra* of *śīlānāṁ* is not placed on the top of °*nā*, but it is combined with the following *dā*°; possibly °*ndā*° was the intention.

[12] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[13] *avagraha* is absent in the record.

[14] Originally °*n* of '*smin* is connected with *p* of *payasān.*

[15] °*n* of *payasān* is combined with the fallowing *ni*°.
Read: *payasāṁ.*

[16] °*t* stands combined with the following *sa*°

[17] °*t* is combined here also with the following *sa*°, but mark that there is no compound of the word *suhṛt* with the word *sammānitā.*

[18] *avagraha* is absent in the original inscription.

[19] Read: '*rthinām.*

5. [20]Upayeme sutāṁ so=[18] 'pi *Dūrvāyī - Sūrya-Kuṇḍayoḥ*, Sarasvatī-pramāṁ Śambhur=Menā-Himavator=iva‖ [IV*][21] Jātas=tābhyāṁ jagati mahito janma-bhūḥ sad-guṇānāṁ

6. khyātaḥ kīrttyā diśi diśi *Yaśodāsa* ity=uddhata-śrīḥ| devaḥ pṛthvī-valaya-tilako jitvaraḥ pārthivānāñ=cakre vācām=adhipam=iva yaṁ

7. mantriṇaṁ *Rājyapālaḥ*‖ [V*][22] Lavaṇa-jaladhi-śyām-opāntān[23]=dig-antara - gocara-tvarita-cakita-kṣoṇī-pāla-pratīṣṭha-nideśanaḥ| saciva-padavīṁ

8. yasmin[24] bhāsaty=akhaṇḍita - śāsano vyadhita[25]-vasudhām=eka-cchattrāṁ sa Rāma-parākramaḥ‖ [VI*][26] Mātaṅgair=mmada-garvvitair=upanatair=aśvorasair=bhūmijai-

9. r=ūrvvyā sasya[27]-samṛddhayā vahu[28]-tithair=hemnāñcayair=arjjitaiḥ| sampakṣā[29] dvija-devatāḥ sura-pater=āditsun=ev=āspadaṁ yaḥ śrī--Rāma-parākrameṇa

10. jayinā tantr-ādhikārī kṛtaḥ‖ [VII*][30] *Mlecchair*=ucchanna-kalpaiḥ parijana-vikalair=*Aṅga-Kāliṅga-Vaṅgair*=*Oḍrair*=uḍḍīna-jīvair=apagata-kapaṭaiḥ

11. *Pāṇḍya-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭaiḥ Suhmaiḥ* s-opa-pra dānair=asi-bhaya-cakitair = *Gurjjara*-krīta-cāpair[31] = yasmi̐ s=tantr[32]-ādhikāram=vidadhati[33] dadhire bharttur=ājñā-

12. ś=śirobhiḥ[34]‖ [VIII*][35] Toy-ādhārair=amṛta-śiśirair=ājya-dhārā-vinidrair=agny-āgārair = upahita-sudhair = yajvanām = mandiraiś[36]=ca| vidyā-satrair=ghana-śiti-śilair=deva-

13. gehair=mmaṭhair=vvā naika-dvārā diśi diśi guṇair yasya

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[20] Metre: Anuṣṭubh

[21] Metre: Mandākrāntā

[22] Metre: Hariṇī

[23] Read: *opāntād*

[24] °*n* is combined with the following *bha*°.

[25] *vya*° in *vyadhita* is not very distinct.

[26] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[27] Read: *śasya*

[28] Read: *bahu*

[29] Better read: *sampūjya*

[30] Metre: Sragdharā

[31] The reading may also be *vīryair*, though it is difficult to read so. The letters are indistinct.

[32] *yasmin* + *tantra* give euphonically *yasmi̐ s=tantra*

[33] Read: *ādhikāraṁ vidadhati.*

[34] *ājñāḥ* + *śirobhiḥ* give euphonically ājñāś=śirobhiḥ

[35] Metre: Mandākrāntā

[36] Read either *yajvanair=mmandiraiś*, or, *yajvanān=mandiraiś*. The former reading is preferable.

jāgartti kīrttiḥ|| [IX*][37] Ārāma-sata[38]-maṭha-maṇḍapa-sattra-dāna-prāsāda-saṁkrama-jalāśaya-

14. sanniveśaiḥ| tair = ebhir = ātma-carit-okti-padaiḥ praśastair = yaḥ sva-praśasti-pṛthu-pīṭham = iv = ākṛt-orvvīṁ[39]|| [X*][40] Aṣṭābhiḥ sura-mandiraiḥ parivṛtaṁ

15. prāsādam = abhraṁlihaṁ sampādy-endu-marīci-jāla-dhavalair = lliptaṁ sudhā-karddamaiḥ| ten = āyaṁ naya-śālinā śuci-śilā-vinyasta-liṅg-ākṛtir = bhaktyā

16. dharma-parāyaṇena bhagavān-āropitaś = Śaṅkaraḥ[41]|| [XI*][42] Asmai *Yaśodāsa*-niveśitāya śrī-*Rājyapālo* Vṛṣabhadhvajāya| śataṁ purāṇān[43] nikaraṁ[44] niyamya

17. *Madhusravaṁ* grāmam = adāt[45] kṣitīśaḥ|| [XII][46] Pāṇḍu-Prācīnavarhir[47]-Bharata-Daśarath = Ekṣvāku-Rām-Āgnimitraiḥ kīrttīnām[48] pālanāya kṣiti-pati-tilakaiḥ prārthi-

18. taṁ yatra bhūyaḥ| tatra vrūmo[49] na tāvad = vayam = ati-laghavo yātu kiṃ prārthanābhir = yasmād = viśv-opakāra-praṇihita-manasaḥ pālayanty = eva santaḥ|| [XIII*][50] Asy = edam = ā-

19. yatanam = āhṛta-hāri-śobhāṁ saṅkalpa-siddham = iva nir-mmitam = Indumauleḥ| etattu tāvad = iha tiṣṭhatu śaila-sindhu-saṃsthāna-sustham = avani-talam = asti yāvat[51] [||XIV*]

20. [52]Indranīla-maṇi-snigdhe śilā-paṭṭe = [53] 'ti-nirmmale| praśastir = iyam = utkīrṇā śrī-*Nidhānena* śilpinā|| [XV*]

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[37] Metre: Vasantatilaka

[38] Reading *sata* is doubtful. The metre also does not permit it. Read: *pūrtta* for *sata*

[39] Read: *orvvīm*. The portion °*rvvī* is not very distinct.

[40] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[41] *āropitaḥ* + *Śaṅkaraḥ* give euphonically *āropitaś* = *Śaṅkaraḥ*.

[42] Metre: Upajāti

[43] °*n* of *purāṇān* is combined with the following *ni*.

[44] Read: *niṣkaraṁ*.

[45] °*t* of *adāt* is combined with the following letter *kṣi*.

[46] Metre: Sragdharā

[47] Read: *Prācīnabarhir*.

[48] *m* of *kīrttīnām* is combined with the following *pā*°. Read: *kīrttīnām*.

[49] Read: *brūmo*

[50] Metre: Vasantatilaka

[51] *t* is denoted by a special sign.

[52] Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

[53] *avagraha* is absent in the original inscription

TRANSLATION

Oṁ ! Hail!

Verse I. Let the Dance (of God Śambhu) protect you—the Dance in which the sound of the displacement of the rock from the lofty peak of the huge mountain, caused by the gust of wind, generated by the movements of hands, which were clubs, as it were—made the startled up and frightened elephants of the quarters roar; the Dance in course of which the pressure of (God Śambhu's) feet caused a depression of the crust of the Earth, and made the hood of the Lord of Snakes (i.e. Śeṣa) completely curved; the Dance in which the crescent on the crown of God Śambhu illuminated the celestial moon.

Verse II. A place called *Aṭṭamūla*[1] in *Bṛhaddhaṭṭā* is the abode of the holy and religious *Dāsa* dynasty.

Verse III. Śrī-*Malhadāsa* of that dynasty was renowned all over the world, resembling well the moon (emerging out) of the ocean. His son Śrī *Śūradāsa* too was the embodiment of heroism and an accomplished person. His son Śrī *Saṅghadāsa* too propitiated all his relative and honoured the guests. He was like the Rohaṇa[2] mountain and was served by favour-seekers.

Verse IV. He married the Sarasvatī-like daughter of *Dūrvāyī* and *Sūrya Kuṇḍa* as Śambhu did the daughter of Menakā and Himālaya.

Verse V. *Yaśodāsa*, born of them, adorned in the world, source of noble attributes renowned in all quarters for achievements, and proud possessor of affluence, was, like Vṛhaspati, appointed a minister by King *Rājyapāla*, who was an embellishment to the orb of the Earth, and the conqueror of kings.

Verse VI. During the period he (Yaśodāsa) was the minister, Rājyapāla, who was like Rāma in prowess, established[3] his[3] absolute[3] suzerainty[3] over[3] the[3] world,[3] had[4] his[4] rule[4] unchallenged[4], and instituted his sway over the awe-struck and trembling[5] kings of all regions extending from the green coast-line of the salt sea to the horizon.

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[1] *Aṭṭa* is a corruption of *haṭṭa* which means 'a market place'.

[2] The Mount Meru, or, Adam's peak in Ceylon; it is also known as Sumana-kūṭa.

[3] Literally: consolidated the earth under one canopy (or, umbrella).

[4] Literally: of undivided rule.

Verse VII. He (Yaśodāsa) was given the post by the victorious (Rājyapāla), who was like Rāma in prowess, aspired after the status of the King of gods (Indra), on the score of his elephants infuriated with insolence, the collection of broad-chested[6] *bhūmijas*[7], the land enriched with crop, the enormous heaps of gold earned, and the worship[8] of[8] gods[8] and Brāhmaṇas[8].

Verse VIII. While he (Yaśodāsa) was in office, the *Mlecchas* who were almost exterminated, the *Aṅgas*, the *Kāliṅgas* and the *Vaṅgas* whose kiths and kins were crippled, the *Oḍras* the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Karṇāṭas* and the *Lāṭas* who shed off their deceitfulness, the *Submas* who were frightened by the sword, and the *Gurjars* who were won by arrows (or, valour)—obeyed the master's orders with[9] bended[9] knees[9], having offered presents.

Verse IX. The flame of whose fame was resplendent in all directions on the score of tanks as cool as nectar, firehouses with a perennial flow of clarified butter (*ājya*) and stocked witn nectar, worship, temples, cultivation of learning, houses for deities built with stones as black as cloud, monasteries, and many such attainments.

Verse X. Who used the earth as a spacious and elevated surface (*pīṭha*), as it were, for inscribing these eulogical verses meant as a commentary on his biography revealed in the establishment of gardens, meritorious deeds, monasteries, temples[10] (*maṇḍapas*), sacrifices, charities, edifices, bridges, tanks etc.

Verse XI. Lord Śaṅkara in the image of genital organ (*liṅga*) carved out in a sacred stone was installed with devotion in a sky-scraper (building),[11] which was plastered with nectar-like clay as white as the moonbeams and surrounded by eight temples, by him who was a politician.

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[5] Literally: swift.

[6] *aśvorasa* literally means 'a principal horse'. Here it may mean 'strong'.

[7] They are Vaiśya class of people, 'living by the soil'.

[8] If the reading *Sampakṣā* is taken to be correct, translation will be: having been sided by gods and Brāhmaṇas.

[9] Literally: on their heads.

[10] (Meeting) halls may also be meant.

[11] Literally: a sky-kissing building.

Verse XII. Having controlled (=subdued) hundreds of cities King Rājyapāla dedicated the rent-free village of *Madhusrava* to one who has (the emblem) of an ox for his banner (i.e. God Śiva), whom Yaśodāsa installed.

Verse XIII. What the prayers of common people like us will avail, where great kings like Pāṇḍu, Prācīnabarhis, Bharata, Daśaratha, Ikṣvāku, Rāma and Agnimitra have made repeated prayers for the upkeep of glory, because good people who have elected the well being of the world as an objective are sure to preserve it.

Verse XIV. Erected for one whose head is embellished with the moon (i.e. God Śiva) may this building which is an embodiment of beauty and which is a wish-yielding edifice, as it were, last as long as the Earth consolidated by the existence of mountains and oceans lasts!

Verse XV. This eulogy (=inscription) is engraved by an artist called *śri Nidhāna* on a very clean (pure) slab of stone as cool as sapphire.

SIVA PRASANNA LAHIRY

History of Sanskrit Literature of Kāsmīra

Pre-Muslim Period

Of the earliest Sanskrit compositions of Kāśmīra, not a single which may be dated with certainty to a period prior to the 6th century A.C.[1] has survived. But the highly developed literary style found in the works of the eighth century and onwards must have been the product of a long period of culture. In fact, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* speaks of many of these poets who flourished long before and who thought and wrote with ability on different branches of literature. One of them, Vasunanda, a ruler of the valley, is said to have composed a well-known work on erotics (smaraśāstra)[2]. No work of Vasunanda is however extant. Another Kāśmīrian, named Caṇḍaka, is said to have been a great poet[3], though no specific work is attributed to him. It is not unlikely that he is the same Caṇḍaka to whom some verses are ascribed in Ballabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*[4]. Perhaps, he may be also identical with the writer Candra, mentioned by the Chinese traveller I-tsing. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* deals at some length with the career and activities of one Mātṛgupta who ruled Kāśmīra for a while. He was a poet and a contemporary of Pravarasena II (C. 580 A.C.) of Kāśmīra and Vikramāditya Harṣa of Ujjayinī (C. 6th. cent A.C).[5] Some scholars have endeavoured to prove his identity with the great Kālidāsa[6]. The arguments put forward by them may be summed up thus:—

(1) "Mātṛ" is same as "Kāli" and "Gupta" is same as "Dāsa."

(2) Tradition says that Vikramāditya bestowed half of his kingdom on Kālidāsa. This agrees very well with the fact narrated by Kalhaṇa that King Vikramāditya of Ujjain made a gift of Kāśmīra to Mātṛgupta.

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[1] Some Sanskrit Buddhist literary compositions were no doubt written in the Kuṣāṇa period, of which the Tibetan and Chinese writers tell us, but nearly all of them are now lost.

[2] *RT.*, I, 337.

[3] *Ibid*, II, 16.

[4] *Subhāṣitāvali* (ed. Peterson), 32, 66, 69, 1629, 1916, 2275.

[5] *RT.*, III, 129 sqq.

[6] Bhau Daji, *JBBRAS.* (1861), p. 208; Max Müller, *India*, pp. 312-347.

(3) The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa speaks of a large number of poets, some of whom like Vākpatirāja and Bhavabhūti lived beyond the borders of Kāśmīra, but it never makes any reference to Kālidāsa, who was undoubtedly the most famous of all.

(4) The illustrations of Kālidāsa are chiefly derived from the natural history of Kāśmīra. We may presume that he was an inhabitant of that province.

(5) Like Kālidāsa, who made a faithful portrayal of his sorrowful feelings of separation from his beloved in the Meghadūta, Mātṛgupta is also known to have lived away from his wife and home.

(6) The verse No. 252 in Book III of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the composition of which is ascribed by Kalhaṇa to Mātṛgupta runs as follows: —

Nākāram udvahasi naiva vikatthasetvam :
ditsam na sucayasi muñcasi satphālani/
niḥśabdavarṣāṇām ivāmbudharasya rājan :
saṁlakṣyate phalata eva tava prasādaḥ//

The verse is very similar to verse No. 113 of the ***Meghadūta*** and conveys the same meaning.

(7) According to tradition, Kālidāsa **wrote a poem called** Setukāvya in prākṛt at the request of **Pravarasena. Tradition** also says that Pravarasena II of **Kāśmīra constructed a** bridge of boats across the Vitastā[7]. **It is possible that.** Mātṛgupta wrote the poem at the request of the Kāśmīrian King Pravarasena II who occupied the throne of Kāśmīra, when Mātṛgupta retired to Benares.

(8) By astronomical calculations some writers have tried to prove that Kālidāsa lived in the middle of the 6th century A.C.[8]. This is in conformity with the date of Mātṛgupta who being a contemporary of Vikramāditya Harṣa of Malwa and Pravarasena II of Kāśmīra must be assigned to the end of the 6th century.

[7] Perhaps Bāṇa refers to it in his *Harṣacarita* when he says—
Kīrtih Pravarasenasya prayātā kumudojjvalā/
Sāgarasya paraṁ pāraṁ Kapiseneva setujā//

[8] P. C. Sengupta; *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 263-278.

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The reasons in favour of the identification of Mātṛgupta with Kālidāsa, however, are not convincing. It is inexplicable why the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* should refer to Kālidāsa, by the pseudonym, Mātṛgupta. Ānandavardhana and several other Kāśmīrian writers quote verses from Kālidāsa, but never identifies him with Mātṛgupta. In none of the works of Kālidāsa there is any mention of Mātṛgupta. Secondly, Kalhaṇa refers only to such poets as had some connection with the affairs of Kāśmīra. Bhavabhūti and Vākpati are mentioned, as they were court poets of an antagonist of a Kāśmīrian king. On the other hand such great poets as Vālmīki and Vedavyāsa have not been mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*. Probably, Kālidāsa had never anything to do with the kings of Kāśmīra and this may be the reason of Kalhaṇa's silence over him. The subject matter of *Meghadūta* does not invariably indicate that its author lived in separation from his wife. It is not always safe to attribute the events of the life of the hero to the life of the author. The mere similarity in the subject matter of two verses also cannot indicate the identity of their authors. Kālidāsa might have written a poem entitled *Setuvandhakāvya* at the request of Pravarasena, but this Pravarasena might be the Vākāṭaka king of that name and that would make Kālidāsa a contemporary of Vikramāditya Candragupta II. Lastly, the method of reaching at a specified date of history by means of astronomical calculations has not been generally successful. Even if it be a fact that Kālidāsa flourished in the middle of the 6th century, that is no sure reason for identifying him with Mātṛgupta.

Mātṛgupta however appears to have been a historical character, who lived in Kāśmīra, if not at the end of 6th century A.C. at least in an earlier period. His commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra is referred to in Sundaramiśra's Nāṭyapradīpa on Nandi[9]. Kṣemendra quotes the opinions of Mātṛgupta in one of his works[10]. Some of his verses have also found place in Vallabhadeva's anthology[11].

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[9] Atra ca Bharataḥ āśīrvacanasaṁyuktā......pyalaṁkṛtā/
Asya-vyākhyāne Mātṛguptācaryeḥ ṣoḍhośāṁdhripadānvitā iyaṁ
udāhṛtā//

[10] *Aucityavicāracarcā*, 22.

[11] *Subh.*, ed. Peterson, 2550, 3181.

In *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[12] Kalhaṇa tells his readers that King Mātṛgupta honoured the poet Meṇṭha, for composing the poem Hayagrīva-vadha, by presenting a golden dish to be placed below it, lest its flavour might escape. Honoured by such an appreciation Bhartṛmeṇṭha thought richer rewards needless. The poem '*Hayagrīvavadha*' is lost. The date of Meṇṭha is also not known for certain. But Meṇṭha or Bhartṛmeṇṭha seems to have been a person of fame. He receives the honour of being placed second in the spiritual lineage of Vālmīki[13]. The Kāśmīrian writer Mankha places him with Subandhu, Bhāravī and Bāṇa. The first verse of his great poem Hayagrīvavadha which runs as—

> āsīd daityo Hayagrīvaḥ suhṛdveśmasu yasya taḥ/,
> prathayanti valaṁ vāhyoh sitacchatrasmitaḥ śriyaḥ//;

is quoted by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and by Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛttatilaka*. Some verses are extracted under Meṇṭha or Hastipaka's name in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* and other anthologies[14]. Dr. Bhau Daji finds one of his verses occurring in Rāghava's commentary of Śakuntalā[15].

Some verses are attributed to Gonanda, Gopāditya and Raṇāditya in the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*[16] and in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāsitāvalī*[17]. Are they to be identified with the Kāśmīrian kings of their names mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*? Unfortunately we have nothing against which we can check the evidence and prove or reject such a theory.

Candragomin, the founder of the Candra School of Sanskrit grammar, probably, lived in Kāśmīra. According to Kalhaṇa's evidence, Candrācārya revived the study of Mahābhāṣya and composed his own grammar[18] during the reign of King Abhimanyu. Bhartṛhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryakṣa, who lived before Candrācārya and who by their uncritical methods did much to push the Mahābhāṣya to the background[19]. A later Tibetan work records the censure of Patañjali's work by Candragomin[20]. It is thus quite likely that Candrācārya and Candragomin are identical persons.

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[12] *RT.*, III, 260-62.

[13] Babhūva Vālmīkabhavaḥ purā kaviḥ
tataḥ prapede bhuvi Bhartṛmeṇṭhanām/
sthitaḥ punaryo Bhavabhutirekhaya
sa vartate samprati Rājaśekharah//

Rajasekhara; also Mankha, Śrikaṇṭhacarita, ii, 53.

[14] *Cat. Catalog.*, I, p. 397.

[15] Max Müller, *India*, p. 314.

[16] *Kav.*, 16.

[17] *Subh.*, 2110, 3075.

[18] *RT.*, I, 176.

Kalhaṇa's testimony does not give any clue regarding the date of Candragomin. But it is clear from his statement that the grammarian flourished long before the advent of the Karkoṭas[21]. His Buddhist title 'gomin' and Maṅgalaśloka of his Vṛtti in which he pays reverence to Sarvajña, tend to prove that Candragomin was a follower of Buddha.

This litterateur recasts the work of Pāṇini and reduces the master's eight chapters into six of four sections each. He often re-arranges and simplifies Pāṇini. But excepting thirty-five new Sūtras, there is nothing much original in his work.

Kalhaṇa says that while writing the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* he received considerable information regarding the earlier periods from a work entitled the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*[22]. The date of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is uncertain. But Kalhaṇa's reference to it, as a work of high antiquity may suggest a date earlier than the accession of the Karkoṭas. The mention of Buddha in the work as an incarnation of Viṣṇu has led some scholars to assign the book not much earlier than the 7th century A.C. [23].

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* describes at great length how Kāśmīra was created out of water and left to the care of the Nāgas of whom Nīla was the Chief. Kāśmīra, according to this work was Sati, ttansformed into land. At Vāsuki's request, Viṣṇu agreed to apportion the great lake of the land of Sati as a dwelling place for the Nāgas, where they would be safe from Garuḍa. Viṣṇu further ordered Garuḍa to make Nīla, the Chief of all Nāgas.

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[19] *Vākyapadīya*, ii, 489-90.

[20] Sumpa, *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, pt. i, pp. 95-96.

[21] For the different views on the date and identity of Candragomin see Leibich, *Das Datum Candragomin und Kalidāsas* (Breslau, 1903); S. Levi, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient*, (Hanoi, iii, 1903) pp. 38f.; N. Peri, *BEFEO*. (1911), p. 388, f.n. 2; Leibich, *Kṣirataraṅgiṇī*, pp. 264 ff.

[22] *RT.*, I, 14.

[23] Bühler, Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India. *JBBRAS*. (Extra Number) 1877, p. 141.

At that time, a water demon named Jalodbhava was causing great trouble by killing the inhabitants of Darvābhisa, Gandhāra, Jālandhara and other neighbouring regions. Nīla went to his father Kaśyapa and asked him to devise means by which the wicked demon could be got rid of. At the request of Kaśyapa, the gods came down to Kāśmīra to fight the water demon and Viṣṇu ultimately slew him.

Next the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* relates how Kāśmīra came to be inhabited by human beings. After the valley was recovered, people could at first live for only six months and during the rest of the years, the country was occupied by the *piśācas* under their King Nikumbha. Nikumbha left the valley with the whole of his army at the beginning of spring to fight the goblins of the ocean of sands. Then the men came to Kāśmīra, lived during the summer and after gathering their harvest left the valley before the advent of the winter when the piśāca king returned and when no human being could live in the valley due to excessive cold. This continued for four yugas. Then a Brahmin, Candradeva by name, did not leave the valley during the winter and spent the season in the sub-terranean place of Nīla, the King of the Nāgas. Candradeva prayed before Nīla that in future people should be allowed to live in Kāśmīra during the winter also, to which the Nāga King agreed. Nīla, furthermore declared to the Brāhmaṇa the rites which were to be observed by the future inhabitants. Henceforth there was no more any excessive snow-fall or trouble from the piśācas and slowly men came to live in the valley throughout the year.

The rites proclaimed by Nīla are very similar to the socio-religious ceremonies and festivals observed in the plains of India. There can be little doubt that the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is a handbook of rites and ceremonies which were observed by the people of ancient Kāśmīra. But besides being a handbook of rites and ceremonies, it is also "a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kāśmīra and their legends which are required in order to explain the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and that it shows how Kalhaṇa used his sources"[24] and it is here that the greatest importance of the work lies.

In addition to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, there are other texts of a somewhat similar pattern, known as Māhātmyas, which also are useful for the interpretation of various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kāśmīra. The exact date of composition of the numerous *sthāna-māhātmyas* that put forward the false claim that they were extracted from the Purāṇas cannot be determined with certainty. But though they use many old materials, in their present form, they seem to belong to a comparatively late period. At least there is nothing to prove that this bulk of literary works were composed in the pre-Muslim Kāśmīra.

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[24] *Ibid*.

Kalhaṇa's very frequent references to numerous Kāśmīrian authors and their works enable us to follow the history of Sanskrit literature of Kāśmira with tolerable accuracy from the 8th century onwards. The works of many of the writers themselves have also survived and some of these contain valuable information about other foregoing and contemporary writers and their compositions. Vallabhadeva's (15th cent. A.C.) *Subhāṣitāvalī* which is an anthology of verses compiled from the writings of various poets of ancient India and particularly of Kāśmīra, is also a very valuable work which helps a lot to trace the early literary history of Kāśmīra.

Of the poets of the Karkoṭa period Kalhaṇa mentions Dāmodaragupta[25], Manoratha, Śankhadatta, Caṭaka and Saṁdhimat[26] who flourished in the court of King Jayāpīḍa. Dāmodaragupta is said to have written a book called *Kuṭṭanimataṁ Kāvyam*[27]. This work has survived. It is a practical treatise on erotics. Full of interesting stories, the book incidentally throws a flood of light on the contemporary social life. Several verses of Manoratha seem to occur in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*[28]. About the other three poets Śankhadatta, Çaṭaka and Saṁdhimat, nothing is known. In the reign of the Karkoṭa king, Ajitāpīḍa, there lived a poet named Śaṅkuka who composed a poem called *Bhuvanābhyūdaya*. The theme of the book was centred round the conflict between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka[29]. The work has not come down but quotations from it are preserved in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*[30]. Śaṅkuka's verse has also been quoted in *Śārngadharapaddhati* and *Sūktimuktāvalī*,[1] and there his father's name has been given as Mayūra.[31] Further, the name of Śaṅkuka has been referred to in the fourth ullāsa of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and his opinion on a point of poetics is considered authoritative[32].

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[25] *RT.*, IV, 496.
[26] *RT.*, IV, 497.
[27]. *RT.*, IV, 496.
[28] *Subb.* (ed Peterson), 51, 58, 440.
[29] *RT.*, IV, 705.
[30] *Subb.*, 526, 534, 750, 874, 908, 1156, 1234.

It is quite likely that some of the Karkoṭa kings themselves cultivated the art of poetry; fragments of poems written by Muktāpīḍa and Jayāpīḍa are preserved in *Subhāṣitāvalī*[33].

The early Kāśmīrians were as distinguished in the field of poetics as in poetry and the Karkoṭa period produced some great writers on the subject. The eldest of them is Bhāmaha, son of Rakrilagomin. Probably he lived in the beginning of the 8th century.[34] Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*[35] is the earliest work of poetics which has come down to us. It contains 398 verses and is divided into six chapters which deal with such topics as Kāvyaśarīra, Alaṁkāra, Doṣa, Nyāya and Śabdaśuddhi.

Whether Bhāmaha was a Buddhist, has been a matter for much controversy among historians. The *Kāmadhenu* and the *Vṛttaratnākara* quote some verses from Bhāmaha which are not found in the *Kāvyālaṁkāra*. Some of these verses indicate that Bhāmaha wrote a book on metrics also. Bhāmaha's views and writings have been quoted by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, and Vāmana. Udbhaṭa, the sabhāpati of Jayāpīḍa[36] appears to have written a gloss on his *Kāvyālaṁkārasaṁgraha* named *Bhāmaha-vivarṇa*[37], but the work is not extant.

Udbhaṭa, the court-poet of Jayāpīḍa, was a reputed writer on alaṁkāra. Besides *Bhāmahavivarṇa*, he wrote an independent treatise, the *Alaṁkārasaṁgraha*[38]. In six chapters and in seventy nine Kārikās, it defines forty-one types of figures of speech. Udbhaṭa wrote a poem too, entitled the *Kumārasambhava*. The work has not survived, but some verses from it are found in his *Alaṁkārasaṁgraha*.

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[31] Peterson, *Intr. Subh.*, p. 127.

[32] *Kāvyaprakāśa* (Bombay ed. 1899), p. 89.

[33] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), 585, 648, 654, 655, 661.

[34] S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, p. 49.

[35] Printed by K. P. Trivedi as appendix of Pratāparudra Yaśobhūṣaṇa, B.S.S.

[36] *RT.*, IV, 495.

[37] *Locana* by Abbinavagupta, p. 19; Ruyyaka's *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, p. 183.

[38] Ed. Banhatti, N.S.P., Bombay; tr. Jacob, *JRAS.* (1897).

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Udbhaṭa's contemporary was Vāmana, another writer on poetics, who also adorned the court of Jayāpīḍa[39]. His *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra*[40] is divided into five chapters and deals with the whole sphere of alaṁkāra-śāstra. According to Vāmana the soul of the poetry is the style (rīti).

Lollaṭa, who according to the evidence of Abhinavagupta controverted the view of Udbhaṭa, might have lived in the beginning of the 9th century. He seems to have championed the theory of *rasa*. None of his works has come down, but he is credited by Abhinavagupta and other later writers with the authorship of a commentary on Bharata. Some of his verses are quoted by Mammaṭa and Hemacandra. From quotations preserved by Abhinavagupta it appears that Śaṅkuka criticised his theories on *rasa*. It is not clear whether this Śaṅkuka is the author who wrote *Bhuvanābhyūdaya* composed during the reign of Ajitāpīḍa.

The Karkoṭa rule was supplanted by that of the Utpalas. Among the poets of this age, Kalhaṇa mentions Muktākana, Śivasvāmin, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara who obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman (A.C. 855/56-883).[41]

Śivasvāmin, also known as Bhaṭṭa Śivasvāmin, was an ardent follower of Buddha. He wrote a poem named *Kapphanābhyudayam*, describing the expedition of Kapphana, King of Dakṣināpatha against Prasenajit of Śrāvastī. At the end of the war, which resulted in his victory, Kapphana accepted Buddhism and renounced his worldly attachments.[42] Some of the verses of Śivasvāmin are quoted in Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇam*[43] and Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[44] Otherwise Muktākana is known only from quotations preserved in Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Suvṛttatilaka*.[45] Ratnākara has been identified with the author of the great Kāvya named '*Haravijaya*'

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[39] *RT.*, IV, 495, on the identity of Vāmana, author of *Kāvyālaṁkāra sūtra* with Vāmana the poet of Jayāpīḍa's Court see Buhler's Rep., *JBBRAS.*, Extra no 1877, p. 64.

[40] Ed. Capellar; ed. *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay; ed. Kulakarni, Śrinagar.

[41] *RT.*, V, 34.

[42] *Rep. on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Bombay Presidency*, R. G. Bhandarkar (1897), p. xviii.

[43] *Cat. Catalog.*, I, pp. 654, 655.

[44] *Subb.* (ed. Peterson), p. 129.

[45] *Cat. Catalog.*, I, p. 495.

—an enormous epic in fifty cantos which describes the defeat of Asura Andhaka in the hands of Śiva. From the colophon of the work it seems that Ratnākara whose full name is given as Rājānaka Ratnākara Vāgīśvara composed the poem during the reign of King Bṛhaspati Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa,[46] who, according to Kalhaṇa, died forty years before the accession of Avantivarman[47]. It is possible that Ratnākara started his career under Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa but was patronised also by Avantivarman. Besides the *Haravijaya Kāvya*, Ratnākara is credited with the composition of two smaller poems, *Vakrokti Pañcāśikā*[48] and *Dhvanigāthāpañcikā*. Some of his verses have found place in Kṣemendra's *Suvṛttatilaka*,[49] in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*[50] and in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*.[51] The fame of Ratnākara seems to have spread outside and the poet Rājaśekhara praises him for his vast learning and wealth of imagery.[52]

The fame of Ānandavardhana rests principally on his treatise on the science of poetics. His great work *Dhvanyāloka*, *Kāvyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka* is a commentary in four chapters on certain verses treating Dhvani as the soul of poetry. Abhinavagupta's elucidation on it, the *Locana*, has given the work a wide reputation. Besides *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana composed several poems in Sanskrit and Prākṛt. His *Devīśataka* is a lyric written in praise of Pārvatī. The other poetical compositions are *Arjunacaritamahākāvya* (Sanskrit), *Viṣamavanalīlā* and *Harivijaya* (both Prākṛt) and *Mataparīkṣā*.[53]

In the same period as Ānandavardhana seems to have lived three other reputed ālaṁkārikas of Kāśmīra, Rudraṭa, Mukula and Indurāja.

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[46] For the identification of Ratnākara's Bāla Bṛhaspati with Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa, see Bühler's *Report*, p. 42-43.

[47] *RT.*, IV, 703.

[48] This work has been printed in Kāvyamālā series, Bombay.

[49] *Suvṛttatilaka*,, ii, 20; iii, 19.

[50] *Sub.* (ed. Peterson), pp. 96, 97.

[51] *Cat. Catalog*, I, p. 492.

[52] Mā śma santu hi catvāraḥ prāyo Ratnākara ime/
Itiva sa kṛto dhātrā kaviratnākaroparaḥ//

This verse has been attributed to Rājaśekhara in the Hārāvali and the *Sūktimuktāvalī*. See Peterson, *Intr. to Subb.*, p. 97.

[53] The names of all these works are known from Ānandavardhana's *Kāvyāloka*.

Rudrata, also called Śatananda, was the son of Vāmana. His *Kāvyalaṁkāra*[54] in 16 chapters deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He represents the alaṁkāra school and is opposed to the theory of Vāmana that *rīti* is the soul of poetry.

According to Jacobi, Rudraṭa lived during Avantivarman's reign and the example of Vakrokti given by Rudraṭa (II, 15) was prompted by Ratnākara in his *Vakroktipañcāśikā*.[55] Rudraṭa was not the author of the *Śṛngāratilaka* as some scholars have presumed[56]; the book was written by Rudrabhaṭṭa.

Mukula was the son of the famous Śaiva philosopher Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who lived in the time of Avantivarman (A.C. 855/56-883). His *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā*[57] deals with the theory of various rhetoricians on *abhidhā*, the 'appellative power' residing in words.

Indurāja, also known as Pratiharendurāja, was a pupil of Mukula. He was born in Konkan, but afterwards migrated to Kāśmīra. Only one work written by him has come to us. It is a commentary on Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* and is entitled the *Kāvyālaṃkārasāralaghu vṛtti*[58].

We learn from Kalhaṇa that a poet named Bhallaṭa lived in the reign of Śaṁkaravarman[59]. An extant work named *Bhallaṭaśataka*[60] edvidently belongs to him. Verses from this work have been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra and Mammaṭa. Some passages from this work, also occur in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*.

Another contemporary litterateur of Śaṁkaravarman was Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. Three books of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa have so far been recovered. They are the *Nyāyamañjarī*[61], *Nyāyakalikā* and *Āgamaḍambara*[62]. All of them are standard works on *Nyāyaśāstra*. In the *Nyāyamañjarī* and *Āgamaḍambara*, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa mentions the name of King Śaṁkaravarman. So he cannot be placed earlier than that monarch (A.C. 883-902). Then, Abhinanda, the author of the *Kādambarī* who was Jayanta's son, says that Jayanta's great grandfather was a minister of Lalitāditya. Lalitāditya reigned about the middle of the 8th century A.C. Jayanta, being four generation removed from Lalitāditya, could not possibly have lived much later than the last quarter of the 9th century.

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[54] Ed. *Kāvyamālā*.

[55] ZDMG., 56, 763.

[56] Bühler, *Report*, pp. 67-68.

[57] Ed. Bombay.

[58] Ed. Bombay.

[59] *RT*. V, 204.

[60] Ed. *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay.

[61] *Nyāyamañjarī*, (Cal. University).

[62] A manuscript copy of this book lies in one of the Jaina Bhāṇḍāras of

It is not unlikely that King Śaṁkaravarman himself also composed several poems. In the chapter on political history it has been noted that another name of Śaṁkaravarman was Yaśovarman. A lost nāṭaka entitled *Rāmābhyudaya*, written by one Yaśovarman, which is cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka*[63], probably belongs to him. Some verses, written by a poet called Yaśovarman are also preserved in the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* and *Subhāṣitāvalī*[64]. Possibly they were written by Śaṁkaravarman alias Yaśovarman.

The poet who comes next is Abhinanda son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa whose *Kādambarīkathāsāra* is a metrical summary of Bāṇa's prose romance. Abhinanda traces his ancestry from Śakti, who was originally an inhabitant of the Gauḍa country but afrerwards migrated from his native province and settled in Kāśmīra. From Abhinavagupta's mention of poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, at the end of the 10th century[65] and from the fact that Abhinanda's father Jayanta was a contemporary of Śaṁkaravarman (A.C. 883-902) it may be inferred that Abhinanda lived in the first part of the 10th century. Although Abhinanda mentions Gauḍa as one of his ancestors, it is not clear whether he is the same as Gauḍa-Abhinanda, whose verses are quoted in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*[66]. Some of the anthologies such as *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, *Sadūktikarṇāmṛta* and *Sūktimuktāvalī* quote verses written by an Abhinanda and not Gauḍa-Abhinanda. The *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* which refers to him cannot be assigned to a period later than the 10th century. So Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been much

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Paṭan. See *Das, Cat. of Jaina Manuscripts of Patan, GOS.* vol. LXXVI, p. 51.

[63] *Dhvanyāloka* (Ed. N.S P., Bombay, 1911), pp. 138, 148.

[64] *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (ed. Thomas), pp. 75, 76; *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), 1364.

[65] *Locana* (*Kāvyamālā* ed), p. 142. In this printed text, the *Kathāsāra* has been ascribed to Jayanta Bhaṭṭa but the India Office Manuscript No. 1008E 1135 assigns it to Abhinanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta

[66] *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*. 1090, 3485.

removed from the author of the *Kathāsāra*. But it is not known whether this Abhinanda of the anthologies is identical with Gauḍa Abhinanda or with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta. The auther of the *Kathāsāra* however must be distinguished from another Abhinanda, the son of Śatananda and the writer of an epic called *Rāmacarita*[67]. The name of Abhinanda has been mentioned and his poem *Kādambarīkathāsāra* has been held in high esteem by some later Kasmirian writers[68].

Kāśmīra was a land par excellence of the Śaiva faith and it had developed a particular system of Śivaite philosophy based on the principle of idealistic monism (*advaita*). The earliest writers who propounded and expanded this doctrine belonged to the Utpala period. The exact date of Vasugupta, the founder of the Kāśmīra Śaivism, is not known for certain. But as his disciple Kallaṭa lived at the end of the 9th century A.C.[69] he also may be placed near about the same period. Most of his works are now lost. His *Spandāmṛta* has probably been incorporated in the *Spanda Kārikās* and his commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā* called the *Vāsavī-Ṭīkā* may perhaps be traced in the first six chapters of another Ṭīkā on the *Bhagavad Gītā* called *Lasaki*, by Rājānaka Lasakaka. About the personality and lineage of Vasugupta all that we learn from his pupils is that he lived in his retirement as a holy sage in the Ṣaḍarhadvana (Harwan).

According to Kalhaṇa's evidence Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa 'descended to the earth for the benefit of the people' in the time of Avantivarman (A.C. 855/56-883). He was a pupil of Vasugupta and wrote a commentary called *Spandasarvasva* on his teacher's *Spandāmṛta*. It is still extant[70]. He was also the author of the *Spandakārikās*, an exposition on the work of Vasugupta[71]. His two other books, the *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi* and the *Madhuvāhinī*, are now lost. Both of them were commentaries on the Śiva Sūtras.

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[67] Bühler identified the author of the *Rāmacarita* with the author of the *Kādambari Kathāsāra*, *JBB.R.A.S.*, extra no. 1877, p. 45. But as the name of the father of the author of the *Rāmacarita* is Śatananda and not Jayanta, he should not be identified with the composer of the *Kathāsāra*.

[68] Kṣemendra's *Suvṛttatilaka*, iii, 6, 29; Someśvara, *Kirtikaumudi*, i, 26.

[69] *RT.*, V, 66.

[70] Bühler, *Report*, p. 78 sqq.

[71] Stein, *Cat. of Jammu Manuscripts*, p. 361,

The next author on Śaiva philosophy was Somānanda. He wrote Śiva-dṛṣṭi and a vṛtti on it in which he marshalled philosophical reasonings in support of Vasugupta's teachings. Abhinavagupta, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the first part of the 11th century, was fourth in succession from Somānanda in a line of spiritual succession Somānanda, therefore, might have flourished towards the end of the 9th century.[72] Somānanda was most probably a pupil of Vasugupta.

Somānanda's disciple Utpala was the author of as many as six works. These were *Pratyabhijñakārikās*, Vṛtti on it, Ṭīkā on it (lost), *Īśvara-siddhi*, *Ajaḍapramātṛ-siddhi* and *Stotrāvalī*. He possibly flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century.

Utpalācārya's pupil Rāmakaṇṭha (C. 925 A.C.) wrote a work entitled the *Spandavivṛti*. He is also credited with the composition of two commentaries, one on the Mātaṅga Tantra and the other on the Bhagavad Gītā. None of the commentaries, however, has come down to us.

In the last decade of the 10th century comes Mahāmaheśvara Abhinavagupta. A prolific writer, he obtained as great a reputation in the field of poetics as in Śaivadarśana. From a study of the concluding portions of his two works, *Tantrāloka* and *Paratriṁśikāvivarṇa*, we learn that he was born in a reputed Brāhmaṇa family. His grandfather was Varāhagupta; his father was Narasiṁhagupta alias Cukhala; and his younger brother was Manorothagupta. In quest of learning, he travelled over various parts of Kāśmīra and also visited many places outside the valley. Among his teachers were Bhaṭṭendurāja, Lakṣmaṇagupta and Bhaṭṭa Tauṭa.

Abhinavagupta wrote as many as forty-one books[73], some of which exist, while several are known only by name. His *Locana*[74] is a very profound ~~and~~ difficult commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*. His *Nāṭyālocana* and *Abhinavabhāratī* are commentaries on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Among works other than those of Śaiva Darśana, he composed *Bhairavastotra*, *Mohopadeśaviṁśati*, *Kramastotra* and *Ghaṭakarparavivṛti*. His more important works on

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[72] Bühler, *Report*, p. 82.

[73] For a complete list of Abhinavagupta's works, see *Abhinavagupta* by K. C. Pande.

[74] Ed. *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay; S. K. De, *Jl. of Dept. of Letters*, (Cal. University, 1923).

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Śaiva philosophy include *Parā-triṁśikā vivaraṇa*, *Śiva-dṛṣṭyālocana Pratyabhijñāvimarśini*, *Pratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśini*, *Tantrāloka*, *Tantrasāra*, *Paramārthasāra* and *Mālinīvijayavārṭika*.

Abhinava's literary career extended over a quarter of a century from the year 4066 (the date of composition of Kramastotra) to the year 4090 (the date of composition of the *Bṛhat Pratyabhijñavimarśini*) of the Laukika era i.e. 990-1014 A.C. In view of the fact that his literary career started in a fairly mature age, his date of birth may be placed sometime between 950 and 960 A.C.

Not long after Abhinavagupta came Mahimabhaṭṭa, the rhetorician. In his *Vyaktiviveka*[75], he controverted the *dhvani* theory of Abhinavagupta. He was a champion of the *anumāna* theory of *rasa* and according to him all that pass by the name of *dhvani* are really cases of inference[76]. Mahimabhaṭṭa's attempt to refute the theory of *dhvani* however seems to have apparently failed as it could not convince the later writers who often quote him only to refute his theory.

Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes Abhinavagupta who lived at least upto 1014 A.C. His own works have been reviewed by Mammaṭa, whose approximate date is the middle of the 11th century. Mahima thus flourished between the two. Mahimabhaṭṭa's preceptor Śyāmala has been referred to by Kṣemendra, who lived between 1014 and 1066. This also agrees well with the view that Mahimabhaṭṭa lived in the first half of the 11th century.

Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote another book, the *Tattvoktikośa*[77], in which he discussed the nature of *pratibhā*.

Kṣemendra, the next great litterateur, 'was not a man to hide his light under a bushel, and he has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time.' He was born in a well-to-do family. His father's name was Prakāśendra and grandfather's name Sindhu. By birth he was a Śaiva, but later, under the teachings of Somācārya Bhāgavata, he became Vaiṣṇava.

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[75] Ed. T. S. S, 1909.

[76] Anumanāntarbhāvam sarvvasyiva dhvaneh prakāśayitum/
Vyakti.vivekaṁ kurute praṇamya mahimā paraṁ vācam//
—Vyaktiviveka/

[77] T. S. S. 1909.

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His course of studies seems to have comprised all the sciences and arts then known in Kāśmīra. He had a thorough knowledge of Mathematics, Astrology, Medicine, Surgery, Politics, Erotics, and Buddhist philosophy. Kṣemendra says that he left the company of dry logicians and grammarians but studied all the lexicons of his time. He was particularly fond of songs, gāthās, novels and interesting concepts of poetry.

Kṣemendra is silent about the date of his birth. But he says in his *Bhārata Mañjarī* that he studied literature with Abhinavagupta, author of the *Vidyāvivṛti* or the *Pratyabhijña-vṛhati-vimarśini*. As Abhinavagupta composed his famous commentary on Pratyabhiñja Darśana in 1014 A.C., it is apparent that Kṣemendra was born much earlier. His *Daśāvatāracarita* was composed in the Laukika year 4141 or 1066 A.C. Probably he lived a little longer.

Kṣemendra was a versatile genius. He wrote poems, narratives, didactic and satiric sketches and treatises on rhetoric and prosody. His *Bhāratamañjarī*, *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī*, *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, *Padyakādambarī* (lost) and *Avadānakalpalatā* are respectively the abstracts of the two great epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and the Buddhist avadānas. All these were written in verse. Among his other works, known only by name, are *Śaśivaṁsamahākāvya*, *Amṛtaraṅgakāvya*, *Avasarasāra*, *Muktāvalī*, *Vātsyāyanasūtrasāra*, *Lalitaratnamālā*, *Kanakajānakī*, *Nṛpāvalī*, *Lavaṇyāvatī* and *Pavanapañcāśikā*. His known and printed works include *Nītikalpataru*, *Cārucaryā*, *Deśopadeśa*, *Narmamālā*, *Nītilatā Vinayavallī*, *Darpadalana*, *Sevyasevakopadeśa*, *Munimatamīmāṁsā*, *Caturvarga-saṁgraha*, *Aucitpavicāracarcā*, *Kavīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Daśavatāracarita*.

In *Samayamātṛkā*[76], one of his most original poems, he describes the arts and trickeries of the harlot. The merit of the work lies in its vivid description of droll life painted with great sharpness of phrasing and characterisation. His *Sevyasevakopadeśa*[79] contains shrewd reflections on the relation between master and servant. The *Cārucaryā*[80] is a century of moral aphorisms which gives a pleasing picture of virtue's pleasant ways in contemporary

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[78] *Kāvyamālā*, ed. Bombay.

[79] *Kāvyamālā*, ed. Bombay.

[80] *Kāvyamālā*, ed. Bombay.

Kāśmīra. The *Caturvarga Saṁgraha* (ed. Kāvyamāla) deals with the four objects of human life—Dharma, Artha, Kāma, and Mokṣa. The *Darpadalana*[81] is a denunciatory harangue against human pride which is said to have sprung from birth, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, charity and asceticism. They are dealt separately in each chapter with illustrations on each type of boaster. The *Kalā Vilāsa*[82] is a satirical poem of ten cantos in which Mūladeva, the legendary master of trickery, instructs his young disciple in the arts of roguery. Kṣemendra's *Deśopadeṣa* and *Narmamālā*[83], like *Kalāvilāsa*, also represent his satirical proclivity of mind. In the former, he dilates upon the daily life of different depraved sections of people inhabiting the valley such as cheat, miser, prostitute, bawd, ostentatious voluptuary, students of Gauḍa, old men marrying young wives, degraded Śaiva Guru, the ignorant grammarians among others. The *Narmamālā* is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the Kāyasthas, before the time of Ananta. In his *Aucityavicāracarcā*[84] Kṣemendra tries to propound that propriety or *aucitya* is the soul of poetry and the figures of speech; if they overstep their proper limits, they hurt the *rasa*. In the *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* he discusses with the subjects of Kavitvaprāptī, Śikṣā, Camatkṛti, Guṇadoṣabodha and Paricayaprāpti. Kṣemendra's *Daśāvatāracarita*[85] gives in regular kāvya style, an account of the ten incarnations viz. Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya, which is nothing but an abstraction of the Purāṇic stories.

Mammaṭabhaṭṭa, the rhetorician, seems to have been a later contemporary of Kṣemendra. He refers to Abhinavagupta, Mahimabhaṭṭa and King Bhoja and as such must have lived in or about 1050 A.C.[86]. Though a native of Kāśmīra, he took his early education at Benares. He was a Śaiva by faith and was also a staunch supporter of the grammarian school.[87] His *Kāvyaprakāśa*, a superb work of compilation, is divided into ten sections (Ullāsa). It covers the whole

[81] Ed. *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay.

[82] Ed. *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay.

[83] Ed. M. Kaul, Kashmir series of texts and studies.

[84] Ed. *Kāvyamālā*.

[85] Ed. Durgaprasad, Bombay, 1891.

[86] On the date of Mammaṭa see. M.T N. Ayyanger, *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 66; Kane, *IA.*, XLI, p. 204.

[87] Vāmanācārya, *Intr. of Kāvyaprakāśa*, Bombay ed. pp. 9-12.

ground of rhetoric, deals with the merits and demerits of poetry, the junctions of different words and their sources and the figures of speech. But Mammaṭa was not only a compiler, he was a critic too. He champions the theory of *dhvani* and attacks the views of Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Mahimabhaṭṭa and others. Ruyyaka, in his *Saṁketa* commentary, says that Mammaṭa could not finish his work, and it was completed by some body else. This view receives support from other commentators as well and Rājānaka Ānanda, in his commentary, says that Mammaṭa wrote up to Parikara Alaṁkāra and the remaining portion was written by Allaṭa.[88] The *Kāvyaprakāśa* has two parts—kārikās and vṛtti. According to some authorities the Kārikās, were written by Bharata and the vṛtti by Mammaṭa.[89] Mammaṭa wrote another book entitled the *Śabdavyāpāracarcā*, on the derivation and functions of words.[90]

Somadeva, the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[91] was another later contemporary of Kṣemendra. He composed his work for the amusement of Sūryamatī, the mother of King Kalaśa and grandmother of Harṣa. Evidently, it was written sometime between 1063 and 1089 A.C. when Kalaśa was on the throne and Sūryamatī was still alive. The main theme of Somadeva's work, like Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, seems to be the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, son of Udayana and his final attainment of Madanamañjarikā as his wife and the land of the Vidyādharas as his kingdom. A large number of tales, legends and witty stories is dovetailed into the principal narrative—which indeed make the collection an ocean of the streams of stories. It consists of 18 books of 124 taraṅgas and more than 21,000 verses. Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* is generally said to have been adapted from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* written in Paiśācī dialect. But the

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[88] The opinion expressed by Rājānaka Ānanda receives support from Arjuna Varmā's (13th. cent. A.C.) commentary on the Amaruśataka. Referring to a verse from the *Kāvyaprakāśa* he says—

Yathodahṛtam doṣanirṇaye Mammaṭāllaṭabhyam, Allaṭa's writings begin from some part of the 7th chapter.

[89] Vidyabhūṣna, *Sāhitya Kaumudi* (ed. Kāvyamālā); Peterson, *Report of the operations in search of Sanskrit mss.* in the Bombay Circle, II, 20.

[90] The manuscript of the book exists in the Dacca University Library.

[91] Ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Bombay 1869; Eng. tr. Tawney, ed. Penzer, 10 vols. London, 1924-1928.

Kāśmīrian *Bṛhatkathā*, from which both Kṣemendra and Somadeva drew their inspiration was most probably not the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya; it seems to have been an old Kāśmīrian version of the same, which had undergone many changes. This is apparent from the comparative evidence of the contents of the two Kāśmīrian versons and from their divergences from the Nepāli edition of the *Bṛhatkathā* of the *Bṛhatkathāśloka-Saṁgraha* of Buddhasvāmin.[92]

About the same period as Kṣemendra, also lived Kṣemarāja, the writer on Śaiva philosophy. Both of them were pupils of Abhinavagupta and as such Kṣemarāja seems to have flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. Continuing the labours of his master, Kṣemarāja wrote a number of works on Kāśmīra Śaivism. The chief extant works of his are: *Pratyabhijña-hṛdaya, Spandasandoha, Spanda-nirṇaya, Svacchandoddyota, Netroddyota, Vijñāna-bhairavaddyota, Śivasūtravṛtti, Śivasūtravimarśini, Stavacintāmaṇiṭikā, Utpalastotrāvali-ṭikā, Parapraveśikā* and *Tattvasandoha.*

Another Śaivaite writer, Bhāskara, who was five generations removed from Kallaṭa in a direct line of spiritual descent, was probably a contemporary of Kṣemarāja. He embodied in his *Śiva-sūtra-vārtika* the teachings of Vasugupta. Kṣemendra's pupil Yogarāja may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century. He started his studies with Abhinavagupta and wrote a commentary on his *Paramārthasāra.*

The poet who followed next was Bilhaṇa. From the last canto of his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, we learn that he was born at Konamukha, near Pravarapura, of a pious and learned Madhyadeśī Brāhmaṇa family. His father was Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and mother was Nāgadevī. Bilhaṇa received his early education in Kāśmīra and obtained proficiency in grammar and poetics. At the time of the nominal accession of Kalaśa, when Ananta was still alive, he left Kāśmīra and set out on his wanderings in quest of fame and fortune. The places which he visited were Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga, and Vārāṇaśī. At the Court of Kṛṣṇa of Ḍāhala he stayed for sometime and probably wrote a poem in honour of Rāma. On leaving Ḍāhala the poet visited Western India, attracted by the fame of the Courts of Dhārā and

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[92] For detailed discussions on the point see Lacote, *Essai*, p. 207 ff; Sten Konow, *IA.*, XLIII, p. 66.

Anhilwad and the sanctity of Somnāth Paṭhan. He [illegible]ht have met Bhoja of Dhārā but did not. After spending sometime at Anhilwad, Bilhaṇa embarked from there for southern India and visited Rāmeśvara. On his way back, he reached the Court of Kalyāṇa, where the Cālukya King Vikramāditya II Tribhuvanamalla (A.C. 1076-1127) admired him and made him his Vidyāpati. From the last few verses of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, it appears that latterly he fell into disfavour with Vikramāditya VI and had to leave his kingdom. Does it account for the incomplete narrative of Bilhaṇa which stops with Vikramāditya's Coḷa war and never refers to his activities beyond the Narmadā in 1088?

The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (edited by Bühler) is a poem of 18 cantos which glorify King Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa. It opens with an eulogistic account of the Cālukya dynasty. Then the exploits of king Vikramāditya's father are described at some length. At the end the poet comes to Vikramāditya VI and depicts with usual amplifications "the conquests of Vikramāditya before his accession to the throne, dethronement of his elder brother Someśvara II, his defeat and capture of his younger brother and his numerous wars with the faithless Coḷas." Though Bilhaṇa has taken a historical theme for his subject-matter, his work, in all its essentials, is a kāvya and not a history.

His *Karṇasundarī*[93] was written as a compliment to the Calukya Karṇadeva of Anhilwad whose marriage with a princess, it delineates, under the guise of a romantic tale.

Another poem, *Caura Surata Pañcāśikā*, which is of unknown date and authorship, is generally ascribed to Bilhaṇa. The poem consists of fifty amatory verses, sung in the first person, on the topic of secret love. In one of the South Indian versions, a text called Bilhaṇa Kāvya is attached to the poem, which says that Bilhaṇa repeated these verses when he was going to be executed, being caught in a secret intrigue with the daughter of a king. These glowing verses uttered by the poet, moved the king who ordered his release and gave his daughter in marriage to him. But the story differs widely in different versions. Similar tales are told about other poets and the place of occurrence of the alleged incident also varies. Under these circumstances, it seems that the Caura Kavi was not identical with Bilhaṇa. The stanzas of *Caurpañcāśikā* were probably some floating verses of unknown authorship which were ascribed to different writers in different periods.

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[93] Ed, Bomby, Kāvyamālā series,

Not long after Bilhaṇa came the poet Śambhu, who lived in the court of King Harṣa. His *Rājendra Karṇapura*[94] is a high flown panegyric eulogising his patron, and his *Anyoktimuktālatā*[95] is a collection of verses on various topics containing indirect meanings.

The first Lohara dynasty came to an end with the death of Harṣa and the second year of the 12th century marked the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty on Kāśmīra throne. Among the litterateurs who received patronage of this Court, were the celebrated poets Jalhaṇa, Mankha and Kalhaṇa.

Jalhaṇa was a contemporary of Uccala. We learn from Mankha that when Sussala acceded to the throne after Uccala's death he left the valley and went to the court of Rājapurī. There he wrote a poem called *Somapālavilāsa* or the history of the King Somapāla. His *Mugdhopadeśa*[96] is a poem ethical in character.

Mankha or Mankhaka wrote his poem *Śrikantha Carita* between the years 1135 and 1145 A.C. The theme of the work is the purāṇic legend of Śiva's overthrow of Tripura. But besides the story of Tripura's defeat, several cantos are employed in describing the usual accessories allowed in Kāvyas, the seasons, the sunsets, the sunrises, court scenes, amusements etc. In the third canto the author gives an account of his family from which we learn that his grandfather's name was Manmatha and his father was Viśvavrata. He had three other brothers—Sṛṅgāra, Bhaṅga and Alaṁkāra, all employed as state officials. Mankha himself held high office under Jayasiṁha but it is unknown what his designation was. The twenty-fifth or last canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is particularly interesting as it gives the names of thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials who assembled at the house of Alaṁkāra on the occasion of the completion and public reading of the poem. Though as a pupil of the famous rhetorician Ruyyaka, Mankha shows some cleverness in rhetorical ornaments, it must be admitted that his work lacks lucidity of expression, freshness and variety.

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[94] Ed. N. J. Kirtane, Bombay,

[95] Ed. *Kāvyamālā*, Bambay.

[96] Ed. *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay.

A dictionary called *Mankhakoṣa* is current in Kāśmīra. It is not known whether the writer of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is also the author of this lexicon.

As already noted, Mankha mentions some of his contemporary poets in the last canto of his book. They are Ānanda (XXV-84). Kalyāṇa (XXV-80), Garga (XXV-50), Govinda (XXV-77), Jalhaṇa (XXV-75), Patu (XXV-131), Padmarāja (XXV-86), Bhuḍḍa (XXV-82), Loṣṭhadeva (XXV-36), Vāgīśvara (XXV-127), Śrigarbha (XXV-50) and Śrīvatsa (XXV-82). Jalhaṇa has been already referred to. About the rest, nothing else is known from any other source.

Kalhaṇa, the celebrated poet historian of Kāśmīra, was the son of a high functionary of the Kāśmīra state. His father Campaka was the "dvārapati" or "Commandant of the frontier passes" during the reign of King Harṣa (A.C. 1089-1101). Kalhaṇa's ambition of life was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kāśmīra. When Jayasiṁha became the king of Kāśmīra, after the death of Sussala (A.C. 1127), Kalhaṇa became his court poet. He composed his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the years 1149-50.

According to Kāśmīrian tradition, Kalhaṇa wrote another poem "*Jayasiṁhābhyudaya*" probably an eulogy of his patron, King Jaysisṁha of Kāśmīra. The book has not yet been discovered but a verse from this poem has been quoted in *Ratnakathāsārasamuccaya*.

Though Kalhaṇa does not say anything on his own caste, he seems to be a Brāhmaṇa. His vast learning as expressed in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is quite in fitting with the reputation generally enjoyed by the Brāhmin paṇḍits of Kāśmīra. Kalhaṇa's sympathy towards the Brāhmaṇas, as revealed in the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, also tends to show that he was probably a Brahmāṇa. Every doubt in this regard is dispelled by Jonarāja, the writer of the *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, who speaks of Kalhaṇa clearly as 'dvija'. Kalhaṇa was a Śaiva in his religious belief. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, he pays his devotion in the opening verse of each taraṅga to the Lord Śiva and his consort Gaurī.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* consists of eight books or Taraṅgas. The first book deals with the Gonanda dynasty, several local rulers, Emperor Aśoka and his successors, the Turuṣkas i.e. the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas. Book II treats of a line of Kāśmīra rulers, unconnected with Gonanda dynasty. The third book begins with the restoration of the Gonanda dynasty and mentions several rulers among whom Pravarasena and perhaps Toramāṇa may be recognised as historical figures. Book IV starts with the accession of the Karkoṭa dynasty. Some of the kings, belonging to this dynasty, are also known from other sources. The Karkoṭa dynasty was overthrown by the Utpalas. The history of Utpala dynasty occupies the fifth book of Kalhaṇa. The sixth taraṅga of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* describes Kāśmīra under the descendants of Vīradeva and Abhinava. The seventh book opens with the accession of Saṁgrāmapāla of the Lohara kingdom to the throne of Kāśmīra and ends with the dethronement and death of Harṣa. The dynasty to which these rulers belonged is regarded as the First Lohara dynasty. The eighth book starts with the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty and gives a long account of the reigns of Uccala, Sussala and Sussala's son Jayasiṁha—the reigning sovereign of Kalhaṇa's time. Though the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a literary production of high merit, it will not be a just appreciation of Kalhaṇa if we regard his poem simply as a Mahākāvya. It is an admirable collection of historical facts presented in an illuminating garb of poetry and soars in the region of fine art. History takes wings from the inimitable pen of Kalhaṇa.

Kalhaṇa generally indicates the materials which he used for his narrative. He mentions several previous writers on the history of Kāśmīra. Among these were Suvrata "whose work", he says, "was made difficult by misplaced learning; Kṣemendra who drew up a list of kings, *Nṛpavali*, of which, however, he says no part was free from mistakes; Nīlamuni, who wrote the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*; Helarāja, who composed a list of kings, in twelve thousand verses; and Śrīmihira or Padmamihira, and the author of the *Śrīcchavillakāra*" His own work was based on eleven collections of *Rājakathās* or stories about kings and on the works of Nīlamuni. He further tells us that he took the help of many inscriptions, grants and manuscripts to write his book.

Some of the sources as mentioned above, which Kalhaṇa used for his narrative, were themselves of uncertain historical character. Hence the early part of his work, especially the first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, have become a conglomeration of history and vague legends. The poet-historian however shows more precision from the fourth book onwards for which he had probably at his disposal materials of a truly historical character, presumably coins and inscriptions, as well as other indigenous sources. The seventh and eighth books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* are graphic and full of facts. The reason i not far to seek. Kalhaṇa was a contemporary of the monarchs of thes eighth book and for the history of Harṣa and other immediately preceding rulers, he had most probably information from his father and other older contemporaries.

Inspite of the lack of historical materials in the early portions of his work, Kalhaṇa's splendour of imagination, depth and range of thought and above all the power of centralising many talents to a single purpose, had given his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* a literary immortality. Among the special merits of Kalhaṇa as a historian, Stein mentions his impartiality and independence, individuality of his characters, accuracy of genealogical statements, high sense of historical truthfulness in later parts of the Chronicle and exactness of topographical details[97]. To these may be added his rare sense of appreciation of the philosophy of history, a quality rare among the writers of the past. Kalhaṇa's account is not written to enforce any particular lesson. He lets his tale tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out. This of course does not mean that he confines himself to a mere report. Beside the narrator stands the thinker, explaining the facts by causses and reasons, exposing the principles which underlie them. But he does not use the facts to illustrate his thesis, much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them.

We realise the qualities of Kalhaṇa more fully as we pass from him to his continuator, Jonarāja. Jonarāja's account also is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses the mind of a great historian.

The rhetorician Ruyyaka seems to have been a contemporary of Kalhaṇa. He quotes from Mankha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* which is said to have been composed between 1135 and 1145. On the other hand the *Kāvyaprakāśasaṁketa* of Māṇikyacandra written between 1159-60 refers to Ruyyaka's *Alaṁkārasarvasva*. It is thus evident that Ruyyaka flourished between 1135 and 1160. His *Alaṁkārasarvasva*[98] is a standard work on figures of speech. His other works include *Sahṛdayalīlā*[99], "a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formula in four chapters", and *Alaṁkārānusārinī*[100], a commentary on Jalhaṇa's *Somapālavilāsa*.

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[97] *RT*. Eng. tr. Stein, Vol. I, Intr. pp. 22-41.

[98] *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay.

[99] Ed, Pischel, Kiel; also ed. Bombay.

Among the minor works which were composed during the last days of the Hindu rule, mention may be made of *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha[101]. It was probably written in the 12th or 13th century[102]. In a simple Kāvya style the book relates in 32 cantos many legends connected with Śiva and his incarnations. Some of these legends are placed in famous Kāśmīrian tīrthas and afford the author a chance to describe the sacred sites of Kāśmīra.

Another writer, Jayaratha, composed a commentary on the *Tantrāloka*. He appears to have lived in the 12th century[103].

If Jonarāja is to be believed, during the reign of Saṁgrāmadeva (A.C. 1235-52), a poet named Yahsaka lived in his court and made the king the hero of his compositions[104]. Unfortunately nothing more is known of this poet and his writings.*

SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

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[100] See Peterson, Intr. *Subh.*, p. 106.

[101] Kāvyamālā Series No. 61.

[102] Bühler, *Report*, p. 61, 81.

[103] *Ibid*, p. 82.

[104] Jonarāja (Bombay ed.), 107.

* A chapter from the author's thesis, Early History and Culture of Kāśmira.

A Study of Nāgārjuna

Buddhism, the great system of thought and life founded by one of the most Enlightened Souls—Gautama the Buddha, in the sixth century B. C., has seen an enormous growth and development through centuries in different climes. Nāgārjuna is a prince among the Buddhist logicians—or rather dialecticians, whose interpretations of Buddhism have come to be known as *Śūnyavāda*—a term which has fallen into much misuse, if not positive abuse. Nihilism has often been regarded as the correct equivalent to Nāgārjuna's philosophical doctrine. Our endeavour here will be to bring out the consistent view of Nāgārjuna's metaphysic to show that *ex nihilo nihil fit* cannot with propriety be attributed to it.

The Mādhyamika School of Buddhism—as the *Śūnyavāda* of Nāgārjuna has come to be known—falls under the great ethico-philosophical Sect of Buddhism known under the name of Mahāyāna. Mahāyāna metaphysic (along with the other branch, the Subjectivistic School known as *Vijñānavāda* or *Yogācāra*) does not support pluralistic materialism as the ultimate Reality. In fact, this Sect is the idealistic representation of Buddhism, denying material reality of the universe of experience as being really an illusory vision. *Śūnyavāda* has particularly tried to analyse the real nature of the facts of our experience—or rather, the fact of the experienced events—and has given us an interpretation toward its explanation.

We shall not dilate here much on the Subjectivistic interpretations of the Mahāyāna Sect except making some comments *en passant*, but shall concentrate more on the Negationalistic[1] interpretations of Nāgārjuna. What is then the *Śūnya* of Nāgārjuna? The *Śuñya* is no doubt a Great Void—to express it linguistically—, but it is the Reality of ultimate Existence. The logical die-hard may oppose us on this score by saying that Non-existence (Void) and Existence (Reality) are two contradictory terms, and therefore cannot be postulated simultaneously for the same Entity. A table, to wit, cannot be both black and not black at the same time of experience ; it must be either and exclude the other. But Nāgārjuna's *Śūnya* seems to retain both such terms. The charge must be controverted logically. Hence *Śūnya* has confronted us for being given a consistent interpretation and analysis.

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[1] Negationalism has been substituted by us for Nihilism. It will be seen below that *Śūnyavāda* really means a Negational Idealism, not a Negative Scepticism something like Schopenhauer's doctrine.

To understand the nature of *Śūnya* we would do well to analyse some other concepts *à priori* to it. What is the cause-and-effect relation of things in Mahāyāna ? How are empirical events determined ? What is their real *dharma* ? Such problems must be dealt with ere we can analyse the problem of problems, *viz.*, *Śūnya*. These problems are inextricably connected with the understanding of the problem of *Śūnya*. In Mahāyāna philosophy—or, in fact, in the general Buddhistic metaphysic—the entire empirical world of events is a causal series. Every event, or rather every moment of an event, is caused and causes the next unit. Hence there are no leaps in nature and the whole empirical universe of phenomena rests upon this cyclic order of the causal nexus. This theory of dependent origination has come to be known as *pratītya-samutpāda* in Sanskrit or *paṭicca-samuppāda* in Pali terminology. In fact, this theory is the bedrock of the Buddhistic golden mean. This theory prevents us from assuming a phenomenon being unique but postulates that it must be dependent on another in origin and existence. Thus in the phenomenal universe of our experience, the theory asserts, there is a twelvefold cycle (*dvādaśa nidāna*) of such relation for the expression of any phenomenal event. In fact, life itself—the substratum of all suffering —is a cyclic wheel (the symbolism of *Dharmacakrapravartana* or *Dhammacakkappavattana* by Buddha at Mṛgadāva in Sarnath) of twelvefold causes (*hetu*) and conditions (*pratyaya*). In this cyclic causal nexus the present is Janus-like, for it looks backward to its past life which has ushered it into existence through the eternal ignorance (*avidyā* or *avijjā*), and also forward to its future existence that will arise out of desire-to-be. This eternal cycle or wheel revolves on and on without rest or respite and the whole empirical world is *dependent* upon it in the inextricable causal nexus. Thus the metaphysical and ethico-religious questions of Buddhism are vitally connected with this theory. This theory as analysed in the Pali canonical texts like the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* may be formulated as beginning with Ignorance, the *principia eterna* of all life,—(or any psycho-

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physical gross act like *āhāra* as in the *Samyutta Nikāya*)—and ending with birth and the subsequent and inevitable decay and death.[2]

"The Mahāyānists", observes Professor Nalinaksha Dutt, in his work *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna*, "highly appreciated the teaching conveyed by the formula of causation but were not interested in the significance of its links, as their cardinal tenet was *dharmaśūnyatā* or non-existence of everything worldly". Nāgārjuna in his *magnum opus*, the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* or *Madhyamakakārikā* or *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (*vide* Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin's Edition) has given forceful arguments to show that *Dharmaśūnyatā* is the highest ideal of Mahāyānic metaphysic and spiritualism. The other forceful Sect of Buddhism, viz., the Hīnayāna, upholds that the real goal of Buddha's teachings is to arrive at *Nirvāṇa*, the Buddhist *summum bonum*, through the constant meditation on and realization of the essencelessness of the *Pudgala*, viz., the bodily complex known as the Person (*vide* Devabrata Sinha's article: 'The Buddhist Outlook on Human Personality' in *Indo-Asian Culture*, April, 1955), through the comprehension of the *Āryasatyas* (Four Noble Truths) and the *Pratītya-samutpāda* (Dependent Origination) theory. In fact, the Mahāyānists are widely divergent from the Hīnayānic conception of *Nirvāṇa* and the nature of the world and its negation. The Hīnayānists have not subscribed to the theory of *Dharmaśūnyatā*, i. e., the essencelessness of not only the Person but of 'the very nature of things'. Thus the Hīnayānic ideal has been ridiculed by the Mahāyānists who hold that their (Hīnayānists') case is of the conventional truth-claim (*saṁvṛti-satya*). Nāgārjuna, the prince of Mahāyānic (Mādhyamika) teachers, has shown that the Hīnayānic doctrines of the reality of the world and of its transcendence by ethico-spiritual contemplations on the *Āryasatyas* and the *Pratītyasamutpāda* have no appeal to the higher philosophy of *Dharmaśūnyatā* which is real *Śūnyata* or *Tathatā* (Cf. *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, Poussin's Edn., pp. 492 and 494). This *Tathatā* is the real nature of things worldly, but the worldly experienced phenomena we, of deluded vision, take as real, existent. But when that delusion born of Ignorance is transcended, when the Mādhyamika ideal of seeing into the 'real nature' of *Pratītyasamutpāda* which is governing the whole course of human society and destiny is attained through intense spiritual discipline, then the Reality reveals itself to an Arhat (a Truth-Seeker) as *Śūnyatā* or *Tathatā*. In fact, Nāgārjuna's analysis centres largely round this concept of *Pratītyasamutpāda qua Śūnyatā qua Nirvāṇa*.

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[2] We arrange the formula thus:—

(1) *Avijjāpaccayā Saṅkhārā*; (2) *Saṅkhārapaccayā Viññāṇaṃ*; (3) *Viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpaṃ*; (4) *Nāmarūpapaccayā Saḷāyatanaṃ*; (5) *Saḷāyatanapaccayā phasso*; (6) *Phassapaccayā Vedanā*; (7) *Vedanāpaccayā taṇha*; (8) *Taṇhāpaccayā upādānaṃ*; (9) *Upādānapaccayā bhavo*; (10) *Bhavapaccayā jāti*; (11) & (12) *Jātipaccayā jarāmaraṇaṃ*.

This concept of *Tathatā* or *Śūnyatā* has been very clearly brought out in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, a Sanskrit Mahāyānic text, in the following words: *Tathātvam ananyathātvaṃ tattvam anāyūhaniryūhalakṣaṇaṃ sarvaprapañcopaśamaṃ ; Śūnyatānutpādādvayaniḥsvabhāvalakṣaṇam*. Thus the general Mahāyānic conception of this Principle is that it is That-ness or the real character inexorably present in all things when all determination is a *nihil*,—the character of immutable non-determination that partakes of no dependent *dharma* (*Pratītyasamutpāda*). Nāgārjuna has developed this general Mahāyānic concept more fully in his work referred to above. It will be shewn by us that Nāgārjuna has been able to establish the Mādhyamika concept of *Śūnyatā* or *Tathatā* as the true nature (*dharma*) of phenomenal universe. He has tried scrupulously to avoid any pre-conceived basis for this universe, but has dialectically proceeded to shew that this concept is neither this nor that extreme but rather the middle path of true Buddhist dialectic Idealism. The empirical world is no doubt in an eternal flux (*Kṣaṇikavāda* being the general Buddhist doctrine) but is not on that account a Great Void or Nihil in the ultimate analysis. Herein comes in the dialectic of *Pratītyasamutpāda* which in Nāgārjuna's inimitable style has been given a deeper meaning. In his work (Poussin's Edn., p. 503) he has really equated *Śūnya* with *Pratītyasamutpāda*—an apparently self-contradictory statement. But Candrakīrti, the commentator of Nāgārjuna, has resolved this apparent anomaly. If we read between the lines we shall find that Nāgārjuna's dialectic is avoiding absolute reality of the empirical universe. Thus, considered from the conventional standpoint of truth, it is of dependent origination (*Pratītyasamutpāda*), no doubt, but from the transcendental standpoint, its real nature is behind this causal nexus that presupposes an indescribable, indeterminate and transcendental *nature*[3], which in its turn precludes the very nature[3] of things known (*i.e.*, empirically). Hence *Pratītyasamutpāda* is not absolutely real nor absolutely unreal as causal nexus but presupposes the transcendental *Śūnyatā* of all empirical phenomena—the Truth of Things, the That-ness of their nature, the Nature of their Becoming, the Reality of their determinate existence. Nāgārjuna has given the characteristics of this concept as *aparapratyaya* (not dependent on others), *śānta* (ceased existence—being unaffected by origination and destruction), *prapañcairaprapañcitam* (inexpressible in words), *nirvikalpa* (devoid of different attributions).

If we consider now the concept of *Nirvāṇa* which is the *summum bonum* of Buddhist thought and culture *vis-à-vis* this analysis of the concept of *Śūnyatā*, we shall not be in a difficult position to understand how Nāgārjuna has conceived of *Nirvāṇa qua Śūnyatā*. In his work Nāgārjuna has analysed the different viewpoints on *Nirvāṇa*, viz., that it is existent, existent as well as non-existent, extinction of being etc., and arrives at his own conclusion. His *Nirvāṇa* is cessation of all roots of sorrow (*kleśa*) and of determined knowledge (*vijñāna*) by the removal of all the hindering powers that necessarily pertain to them. But as against the Sautrāntika (representational School of Hīnayāna) view, Nāgārjuna has argued that it is not a negative state of the eradication of these roots of sorrow and knowledge. True to his inner dialectic of thought, Nāgārjuna has steered clear of all imagination (*parikalpanā*) which he says is the nature of all determination, and proves that *Nirvāṇa* is indeterminate or rather eludes all determination of thought-construction like existence, non-existence, eradication, extinction, knowability etc. As *Nirvāṇa* has no signs (*nimitta*) it cannot be determined. It is determined neither as originated nor as destroyed; neither as existent nor as non-existent nor as both; it is neither discarded (like passion etc.) nor attained (like saintly life of Pratyekabuddha, Bodhisattva or Arhat etc.). Thus we find that Nāgārjuna steers clear of all the divergent views on

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3 If we do not lay stress upon the transcendental aspect, the first 'nature' is something like the *natura naturans* (Substance *qua* God) in Spinoza and the second 'nature' like the *natura naturata* (the Finite world of Modes).

Nirvāṇa and establishes it on dialectic grounds as indeterminate avoiding all attribution. Hence *Nirvāṇa* of Nāgārjuna's analysis is real but indeterminate, the Truth of empirical life (*Saṃsāra* or World = *Nirvāṇa* or Transcendence is a favourite Mahāyānic dictum, attested to by Nāgārjuna). Thus Nāgārjuna working on the general Mahāyānic theory asserts that in *Nirvāṇa* nothing is attained except the cessation of all figments of the imagination that all determined existence and knowledge must needs postulate. *Nirvāṇa qua Saṃsāra* is the truth of our Becoming, the goal of our Existence, the target of our limitations. Considered from this analysis we can say that Nāgārjuna's *Nirvāṇa* is some Transcendental Experience which is behind and beyond all our limitations of being and knowing—an indeterminate state which is on that account not negative (as some have held it to be); real *attribution* of existence again will take away from its Reality that is dialectic. Hence there is realization, but no position, of *Nirvāṇa*. This dialectic construction of Transcendence is in keeping with Nāgārjuna's analysis of *Śūnyatā* or *Tathatā*, analysed above. As *Śūnya* is the metaphysical Absolute, *Nirvāṇa* is the spiritual Absolute in Nāgārjuna's philosophy of dialectic Idealism. 'Determination is Negation' (*determinatio negatio est*)—this dictum of Spinoza in modern philosophy—can be applied with modification to Nāgārjuna's system of metaphysic. 'Determine any knowledge as this or that—and you do not know Reality that is non-determined, the Negation of Reality is in such determination, hence, *Śūnya* is the Real That and *Nirvāṇa* the Real To-be'—these seem to us to be the outcome of Nāgārjuna's dialectic system.

BRATINDRA KUMAR SENGUPTA

MISCELLANY

A comparison between ancient Indian and mediaeval European theories of the divine origin and nature of Kingship

The theory of the divine nature and origin of political authority plays an important, though not a fundamental part, in ancient Indian political thought. The Vedic dogma of the origin of the social order supplying the key to the conceptions of the later Brahmanical thinkers involves the notion that the Kṣatriya or the ruling order was invested with political authority by divine ordination. Again, one version of the origin of kingship in the *Yajus-Saṁhitas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* in the guise of creation of kingship of the gods implies that political authority was not only created, but endowed with His own attributes by the Highest Deity, Prajāpati.[1] This last principle first assumes real importance in the thought of Manu and of Bhīṣma who hold that kingship was created by the Highest Deity (Brahmā or Viṣṇu) and was invested by Him with a divine personality (of a lower or a higher order), and that the purpose of this creation was primarily the protection of the people against the anarchy of the antecedent State of Nature. From the above Manu and Bhīṣma derive the corollary of the subjects' obedience to their ruler. Manu and Bhīṣma likewise conceive the notion of divine creation of the ruler for the purpose of individual security and happiness as well as the security of the social order based upon its fundamental law (*dharma*)[2]. According to the Indian thinkers, therefore, kingship is a divine institution which must be obeyed by the subjects, because it exists for their own well-being and the well-being of the social order.

The history of the European theory of the divine nature and origin of political authority presents, in comparison with the above, some striking resemblances and contrasts. We know from an oft-quoted text of the New Testament that the Apostle Paul conceived political authority as a divine institution which one must obey as one obeys God Himself, because its end is the maintenance of justice.

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[1] *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,* II. 7. 2; *Ibid,* II. 10. 4;. *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* XV. 3. 30; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa,* III. 152.

[2] *Manusaṁhitā,* VII 3-13 ; *Mahābhārata,* XII. 59; *ibid* 67-8 ; *ibid* 73

This conception was repeated by the fathers of the Christian Church like St. Ambrose and St. Isidore, while others (especially Gregory the Great) introduced the new theory of Divine Right meaning that the king was a representative of God in such a sense that resistance to him in all cases was equivalent to resisting God. Inheriting this two-fold Patristic tradition, the writers of the 9th century, as has been well observed, used the phrases of St. Gregory, but were governed rather by the tradition of St. Ambrose and St. Isidore. The writers of the 11th and the 12th conturies normally held that the authority of the temporal ruler was derived from God for the purpose of maintenance of justice, but a few like Gregory of Catino followed Gregory the Great's doctrine of Divine Right. The same was the case with the writers of the 14th and the 15th centuries.[3] It was in the 16th century that the theory of Divine Right first assumed real importance. The complete theory, it has been observed,[4] comprises four principles, viz. that monarchy is a divinely ordained institution, that hereditary right is indefeasible, that kings are accountable to God alone, and lastly, that non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God. Another authority[5] distinguishes three elements of the fully developed theory of the 17th century. These comprise (a) the notion of the exclusive rightness of the monarchical form of government (the monarchical principle), (b) the belief in an individual monarch's particular right to govern, a right inalienable and independent of human agency, which is derived from hereditary right (the principle of legitimism) and from divine consecration (the sacred character of the king), and lastly, (c) the assertion of the irresponsibility of the king together with the corollary, usually closely connected, that he is unlimited (absolutism). It will be observed from the above that the ancient Indian theory agrees with the normal theory of mediaeval Europe on the point that political authority is a divine institution which must be obeyed by the people. But there is this characteristic difference that the end of political authority is conceived in the former instance not so much as justice as the maintenance of individual security and the security of the law of the social order. What is more important, the Indian theory does not present from first to last a parallel to the theory of Divine Right as conceived in the Middle Ages, and more fully, in the 16th and 17th centuries of European history. It is true that the conception of monarchy as a divinely ordained institution (though not necessarily as the exclusively right institution) follows as a natural conception of the Vedic and Smṛti doctrines of the divine creation of the Kṣatriya order and more especially, of kingship. But the doctrine of the king's accountability to God alone is completely alien to out ancient thinkers. On the contrary, the authoritative *Smṛitis* conceive the king to be subject to the laws of his order with the rules of the State law governing his rights and duties in respect of his subjects and with the inexorable law of *karma* keeping him true to his obligations. As regards the doctrine of absolute non-resistance, it is possible to quote passages from the Jaina *Nītivākyāmṛtam* and the technical *Sukra-nītisāra* counselling passive submission to the rule of the evil ruler. But the latter work simultaneously, though somewhat inconsistently, advocates passive resistance of the people in the sense of desertion to the enemy's camp, as well as the more violent remedy of deposition of the sinful and the impolitic ruler.[6] More important is the fact that the authoritative view of Manu and Bhīṣma justifies by reasoned argument the Brāhmaṇa's resistance against the evil ruler, Bhīṣma going so far as to advocate the Brāhmaṇa's total resistance by violent and non-violent as well as fair and foul means. Bhīṣma again condones, if not approves of, active resistance of the people against the tyrant to the point of slaying him by a concerted attack.[7] Finally, we have to observe that the ancient Indian theory furnishes no parallel to the principle that "the right acquired by birth cannot be forfeited through any acts of usurpation, by any incapacity of the ruler or by any act of deposition", or that the individual monarch's particular right to govern is "inalienable and independent of human agency."[8] The attitude of our ancient thinkers on this point is clearly expressed by Bhīṣma who asks the people in one place to abandon the non-protecting king like a split boat at sea. Still more emphatically it is expressed in another passage where he counsels in the face of the strict Smṛti injunction to the contrary, the submission of the people even to a non-Kṣatriya saviour in a political crisis. The speaker's argument in this context comparing a non-protecting king with a bull unable to bear burdens, a cow that does not give milk and a wife who is barren, expresses in somewhat harsh terms the normal principle of the ancient Indian thinkers.[9] It remains to mention that while the metaphor of the king as the father of his people is equally familiar in the east and in the west, its elaboration into the most systematic defence of Divine Right, such as was adopted by Robert Filmer in his *Patriarcha*, was never attempted in ancient India. The reason for this profound difference in the development of the two parallel conceptions of the divine nature and origin of political authrority may be traced in the history of the respective lands. It has been observed that the advanced European theory of Divine Right was in its religious aspect of the nature of a counter-claim on behalf of the temporal power to the claim of the papacy "to complete supremacy as the only divinely ordained government", and that of the Presbyterians similarly "to regard the State as the mere handmaid of an ecclesiatical corporation." On its political side the divine right of kings was "little more than the popular form of expression for the theory of Sovereignty."[10] The history of India through the centuries, so far as we can make it out from the available authentic records, furnishes no instance of political authority having to meet a similar challenge or feeling a similar urge for its expression.

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[3] On the above see R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaval Political Theory in the West*, vol. I, pp. 90, 152-3, 161*f*; vol. III, pp. 115*f*, vol. VI, p. 272.

[4] J. N. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, 2nd ed, pp 5-6.

[5] Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages* (Eng. tr. from the German original), p. 5.

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[6] *Nītivākyamṛtam*. XVII. 45-9; *Sukranitisāra*, III, 42-9, IV, 106-10, II, 264-6.

[7] Manu IX, 320-1; *Mahābhārata*, XII, 79, 19-33, 93. 9; XIII, 61. 31-3

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[8] Figgis, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[9] *Mahābhārata*, XII, 57. 44-5; 79. 34-43.
[10] Figgis, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 193.

Jijābai, the Inspirer of Shivaji

The independence movement in Mahārāṣṭra, like all great movements in history, was the outcome of sympathetic groping for light by persons of diverse temperaments and capacities and of united efforts by men who had awakened to the need for a better order of things.[1] The intensely restless state of the struggling Maratha mind as the Deccan Sultanates were facing total extinction at the hands of Mughal imperialists was reflected in the doings of Shahji. His illustrious spouse gave birth to Shivāji, Mahārāṣṭra's man of destiny, amidst the spreading desolation, caused by war, famine and diseases. Since Shahji took service under Bijapur Sultan, Shivāji and his mother went to reside at Poona. They visited Shahji at Bangalore and stayed there for two years. Shivaji was twelve years old when his father deputed him to take charge of the Poona Jagir as a Sub-Mokasdar.[2] He sent with him several experienced men. Dadaji Konddev was already there administering the jagir parganahs as Shahji's Mutliq.

The boy Shivāji was expected to be equipped for shouldering the heavy responsibilities of a premier noble in course of time. But as destiny would have it he chose to make himself the champion of Maratha Swarajya and hence a rebel in the eye of Muhammad Adilshah. Unable to find any rational explanation for the choice of a career made by the boy,—the Bakhars attribute it to divine in-inspiration. Modern writers give the credit of guiding his footsteps into the perilous path to his environment and specifically to two persons Shahji and his Karbhari Dadaji Konddev. Jijabai plays a subordinate role credited only with creating an intense love of Hindu religion and culture in the mind of the boy.

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[1] Cf. *Story of the Nations*, No. 9 by Arthur Gilman. *The Saracens*, page 12.

[2] *Patra Sar-Sangraha*, vol. III. No. 2590. Shiv-Bharat. Adhyaya 10-28 verse. *Shiv Chatrapati* by S. N. Sen, p. 13. Sabhasad says Shahji had been advised by Shambhu Mahadev in a dream to allow complete liberty to the boy when he attained the age of twelve. The date of Shivaji's birth, according to Jedhe and Parmanand,—the author of Shiv Bharat—is 19th February 1630. Jijabai was thirty years old if the year of her birth Shak 1518 given by Chitnis is correct. The Shedgaonkar Bakhar gives Shak 1527 Margaśirṣa Shud 5 = 1605 November 5 as the date of her marriage with Shahji. *Shiv Caritra Pradip*, page 212.

Shivāji commenced his activities soon after his return to the Maval country from Bangalore. An Adil Shahi farman dated August 1, 1644, states, "As Shahji Bhonsle has become a rebel against this Court and Dadaji Konddev, his supreme agent (Mutliq) is (campaigning) in the Kondana district, Khandoji Khopde and Baji Khopde[3] have been appointed to accompany our grand ministers. It is proper that he (Kanhoji Jedhe) also with his contingent should join the aforesaid persons and under their guidance punish Dadaji Konddev and the associates of that base fellow etc. Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes, "the farman fixes the exact date of the Maratha acquisition of Kondana and Shahji's first rupture with the Adilshahi Government." We do not know what the outcome of the campaign was. But Dadaji continued to hold the office of Subedar Kille Kondana right till his death in the year 1647 and shortly after Shivāji captured the fort by bribing the Muslim Commandant Sidi Ambar through one Bapuje Mudgal Narherkar.[4] The farman does not mention Shivaji's name and evidently the Sultan's anger against Shahji was roused by allegations of disloyalty made against him by hostile colleagues like Mustafakhan. The threatened storm, however, blew over. Shahji was restored to royal favour. That is why Dadaji continued in charge of the fort and the district. The hostile activities hinted at in the farman presumably refer to Shivāji's contacts with Mawale leaders and some of the Deshmukhs. There are documents of the year 1645 which not only enumerate his so-called rebellious activities but also throw

[3] *House of Shivāji* by J. Sarkar, pp. 85-87. *Patra-Sar-Sangraha*, vol. 3, No. 2498. In the text of the farman Sarkar gives the names of the Sardars appointed to proceed against Dadaji, as Khandoji and Baji Khopde. In the *Patra Sar-Sangrab* letter these names appear as Khandoji and Baji Ghorpade. Sardesai in his *New History of the Marathas*, vol. I, p. 98, gives the names as found in the letter. The reason for this difference in the reading of the name is explained in a foot-note in "Aitihasik Farsi Sahitya Khand I, No. 48

[4] *Patra-Sar-Sangraha*, vol. I, No. 507 Dadaji Kond Dev is styled as Subedar Kondana. The capture of Sinhgad is not mentioned by Jedhe but in Shivapur Deshpande Yadi the date is given, *Shiv Caritra Pradip*, p. 55; Jedhe Karina" in Shivaji Souvenir, p. 50.

light on his ultimate objective. The letter written by Shivaji to Dadaji Naras Prabhu Deshpande of Rohid Khore contains the declaration that Shivāji was executing the Divine Will of Raireshwar that Hindvi Swarajya be established. In view of the fact that this letter came to be written a few months after the above-mentioned farman was sent, we may safely conclude that the independence movement had gained adherents and was growing in momentum when Shivaji was fourteen years old. The capture of Rohida, construction of Rajgad and organisation of Mawale youths are mentioned as objectionable activities in the letters and Dadaji Naras Prabhu was warned not to assist or associate with the rebel. In 1646 Dadaji Konddev repaired to Bangalore to see Shahji. He made a report of all the events and asked for instructions. We have no means of knowing what transpired between the two, but Dadaji passed away after his return to Poona (June 1647). Shivaji became the sole master of the Jagir-parganahs. Did Dadaji have a hand in organising the independence movement ? If he had, he could have done it only with the express consent of his master Shahji. But Shahji disavowed any connection with it and even advised Shivāji to desist from his ruinous venture.[6] Dadaji and his master were men of the world, hard headed realists. It is difficult for us to credit them with harbouring a truly noble aim or ideal as Shivāji as a teen-ager gives expression to in the abovementioned letter to Dadaji Naras Prabhu. Shivāji had set out to achieve the ideal of Hindvi Swaraj. It need not be, nay should not be, interpreted to mean that he envisaged or craved for the establishment of an Hindu empire. His vision comprehended his own homeland. The words Hindu and Hindvi were used in preference to Maratha and Marathi as the latter expressions denoted members of a particular caste. We use the word Maratha both to denote members of a caste as well as all the people inhabiting Mahārāṣtra. So the people of Mahārāṣtra were to be freed from foreign domination and Shivāji regarded it as a

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5 *Patra-Sar-Sangraha*, vol. I, Nos. 593, 504 and 506, dated May 31, 1645. The capture of Torna was the inaugural act of the independence movement according to Chitnis.

6 *Patra-Sar-Sangraha*, vol, I, Nos. 529. Death of Dadaji Konddev before July 19, 1647. Sardesai—*New History of the Marathas*, vol. I, page 99. It is said "Dadaji encouraged Shivaji as the fittest instrument to lead the movement to success."

divine mission. Now who, if not his mother, could inspire the boy with such rare idealism ? The unique seal of Shivāji compares the slow but sure growth of the Swarajya to the progress of the moon which by degrees attains fulness on the Purnima day.[7] The moon in Hindu mythology is associated with Śiva. The Yādavas were a lunar race. Jijabai's descent was also from a branch of the Yadu race settled in the Deccan. These facts appear, on close study, to have exercised an abiding influence on Shivāji.

Jijābai's life since her marriage with Shahji was a saga of suffering cheerfully borne in expectation of better times to come. Her indomitable spirit triumphed over all difficulties. She was the very embodiment of light and hope for her son and the people. She taught Shivāji to do and dare by precept as well as example. Shivāji imbibed that spirit, discarded the advice of the worldly wise and hitched his wagon to the star of liberty!

Jijābai's high birth and noble lineage represented the influence of heredity, a potent factor in moulding a man's thoughts and actions. The Jadavas of Sindkhed traced their descent from the past Hindu dynasty of Devagiri. The vicissitudes of her early life had made Jijābai familiar with the currents and cross-currents of Deccan politics. She had acquired a practical knowledge of state affairs in course of her wanderings. Dadaji Konddev acted under her guidance and had to revise his own decisions in a judicial case. Shivāji's education and training were managed by Jijābai herself. Jijābai's saintly character not only inspired Shivāji with an abiding love for Dharma, but also brought him in contact with enduring religious leaders of the times from whom Shivāji sought spiritual guidance.[8] Jijābai was thus best fitted to act

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[7] *New History*, vol. I, page 104. "This seal of Shiv, the son of Shah, shines forth for the good (of the people). It is daily to increase like the first phase of the moon and is going to be *respected* by the universe." The seal was used in papers from 1645 onwards.

[8] Sardesai, *New History*, vol. I, page 61. Mahaldar Khan, Commandant of Trimbak fort captured Jijabai and kept her at Sinhgad. The event took place some time during Shah Jahan's campaign in the Deccan, 1633-36.

Patra-Sar-Sangraha I, No. 513—Jijabai ordered fresh enquiry to determine a dispute about Desh Kulkarni Watan between Ramaji Vithal and Timaji Purushottam. *Ibid*. No. 614—of the year 1651-52. Jijabai's Khurdkhat for continuation of Inam Land granted to one Gano Gabaji Tabb. *Ibid* No. 631 dated 1653 Feb. 18. Shivaji and Jijabai went to Gopal Bhat of Mahabaleshwar. *Ibid*

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as the guide, philosopher and friend to her son. Shivāji undertook no important work but with her consent and blessings. There are instances to show that Shivāji made his political plans in consultation with her. It is known that she accompanied Shivaji in his visit to Purandar before its capture.[9] She tried her utmost to make things smooth for Shivaji and his comrades-in-arms. For instance, according to one version of the Javli episode, she asked for the hand of a daughter of Candra Rao with a view to gaining the support of the Morey chiefs. She saw the working of the divine hand in the young boy's adventures. Her mother's heart must have been filled with fear for Shivāji's safety when he resolved to meet his formidable antagonist, Afzalkhan at Pratapgad. She accompanied him to the fort. Like a true Kṣatriya matron she never allowed her tenderness to weaken Shivāji's bold resolution. She was thus a tower of strength to him. Jijābai herself took the lead in undertaking a risky enterprise as is shown by her peremptorily asking Shivāji to capture Sinhgad (1670 Feb.) She guided the affairs of the state during Shivāji's absence at Agra. These instances are enough to show that she was a lady cast in a heroic mould. She did not lead a cloistered life but took part in the management of administrative and judicial problems.

In the matter of abstemious habits, devotion to precepts of religion, conscientious striving for perfection and indefatigable industry, Shivāji was Aurangzeb's peer. He owed these qualities to his training under the vigilant eye of his mother. Dadaji Konddev undoubtedly had a hand in Shivāji's training. But, after all, he was a servant of the family and it is difficult to credit him with possessing a vision of the destiny awaiting his people. It is significant that the Bakhars represent that Dadaji felt distressed at Shivaji's association with lawless elements and his bold schemes to put an end to the Sultan's authority. Nothing is said about Jijābai's reaction. Did she feel likewise and advised her son to walk along the straight and familiar path to fame and wealth in the Sultan's service ? From recorded

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641-1653 July 13. 631 Febr. 18. Jijabai's decision in the dispute about rights of worship in the Jejuri temple. Shiv Digvijay says "Dadaji Pant did not do anything great or small without consulting him (Shivaji). Sen, *Shiv-Chatrapati*, p. 164.

[9] *Patra-Sar-Sangraha* vol. III, No. 2747—1647 August 29—Jijabāi accompanied Shivaji to Purandar.

facts of history and evidences of letters, we can safely surmise that this was not the case. She was in full sympathy with the new movement and was the fountain head of inspiration for the ardent spirits of the land. If Shahji served the cause of Maratha freedom by providing its nucleus and the material means for its realisation, Jijābai supplied the moral fervour—the source of all great projects and movement. Shivāji inherited his soldierly qualities from his father and the vision of Swarajya from his mother. He was a combination of spirituality and worldly wisdom such as we rarely come across in history.

M. B. DEOPUJARI

Rāṇā Udayasiṁha's Relations with Islām Shāh

I have read Mr. R.G. Tiwari's article entitled "Mahārāṇa Udai Singh and the Sur Emperors of Delhi", published in this *Quarterly*, XXX, No. 4 (December 1954), pp. 311-26. The chief purpose of the author is to controvert my suggestion, based on the Toda Raising inscription, that Rāṇā Udayasiṁha of Mewar was regarded as a feudatory of the Sūr emperor Islām Shāh in V.S. 1604=Śaka 1469 (1547 A.D.) when the said inscription was incised (see *IHQ.*, Vol. XXX, No. I, March 1954, pp. 25-30). He has brought into the discussion a large number of details which I consider unnecessary to deal with here as none of them detracts from the value of the evidence of the Toda Raising inscription. But his attempt to evaluate the epigraphical evidence on the question whether Rāṇā Udayasiṁha of Mewar was a feudatory of the Sūr emperors seems to me an utter failure and this I shall try to show in the following lines.

Mr. Tiwari has quoted an extremely defective transcript of the Toda Raising inscription, which contains several errors. Since however I have edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica* and my article on the record is already in the press, I refrain from dealing with the mistakes in Mr. Tiwari's transcript of the Toda Raising inscription in the present note.

The Toda Raising inscription records the construction of a step-well and mentions two persons who were apparently responsible for its construction, although this fact is not clearly stated in the record. It further mentions three different rulers who were ruling at the time of the construction of the step-well and were apparently associated with the Toda Raising region, although the relations that must have existed among them are not specifically indicated. These three rulers were (1) Rāo Raja Rāmacandra, son of king Sūryaseṇi, (2) the emperor (*Pātisāha=Pādshāh*) Islām Shāh son of the emperor Sher Shāh Sūr, and (3) Rāṇā Udayasiṁha who ruled over the principality of Kumbhalmer and was the son of the independent monarch Saṁgrāmadeva.

In spite of the absence of any clear mention of the mutual relations among the three rulers, no student of Indian epigraphy can doubt that Rāo Rājā Rāmachandra of the Toda Raising area was a feudatory of Rāṇā Udayasiṁha of Kumbhalmer who was himself a subordinate of the Pādshāh Islām Shāh Sūr. Mr. Tiwari admits that Rāmacandra was a feudatory of Udayasiṁha although this is not stated in the record. But the similar absence of indication in regard to the relation between Islām Shāh and Udayasiṁha has inspired him to postulate that the Toda Raising inscription does not prove Udayasiṁha's subservience to Islām Shāh. To a student of Indian epigraphy, however, the mention of Rāṇā Udayasiṁha and Pādshāh Islām Shāh side by side can only mean that one of them was the feudatory of the other. As it is quite impossible to believe that the Sūr emperor was a feudatory of the Rāṇā, the only possible conclusion that can be drawn from their mention in the record under study side by side is that Udayasiṁha acknowledged the suzerainty of Islām Shāh. That Udayasiṁha was the overlord of Islām Shāh is not only against the known facts of history but is also clearly negatived by the present record which represents the latter as the *Pātisāha* (*Pādshāh* or emperor) and the former merely as the Rāja of Kumbhalmer. There is hardly any scope for speculation on this point on the basis of 'evidence' which is hardly worth the name.

Another interesting fact to be noticed in this connection is that the cryptic style of mentioning three rulers with exactly similar relations among themselves but without proper indication is quite well known to us from a number of late medieval inscriptions from the area in question. A few inscriptions are quoted below in support of my interpretation of the Toda Raising epigraph.

I. An inscription from Rāmpurā (Mandasor District, Madhya Bharat), dated Śaka 1547 (1625 A.D.), has the following passage (lines 14-18): *Dilīrāja-Pātasāha śrī-Salemasāhajī Citrakūṭa-rāja vāsa Udepu*[*ra**] *Rāṇā śrī-Amarasīghajī tasya putra Rāṇā śrī-Karaṇasīghajī Rāmapura-rājakara Rāva śrī-Caṁdrabhāṇajī tasya Rāṇī Cohāṇa-Prabhāvatībāījī.*[1] In this passage (1) the Mughal emperor Salīm Shāh, i.e. Nūruddin Jahāngīr (1605-27 A.D.) of Delhi, (2) his subordinate Rāṇā Karṇasiṁha, son of Rāṇā Amarasiṁha, ruler of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and resident of Udayapura, and (3) the latter's feudatory Rāo Candrabhānu of Rāmapurā are mentioned without any indication regarding the relations existing among them. But Rāo Candrabhāṇu's subservience to Rāṇā Karṇasiṁha and the latter's subordinance to Jahāngīr cannot be doubted by any serious student of medieval Indian history, although this is not clearly stated in the Rāmpurā inscriptions.

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[1] From a transcript received from Mr. R. G. Tiwari.

II. An inscription from Sitamau (Mandasor District, Madhya Bharat), dated V.S. 1761 (1704 A.D.), contains the following passage: *Pātasāha śrī-Oraṁgajebaḥ Rāṇā Amarsīghaḥ jāgīdāraḥ Rāṭhoḥa-Kasodāsa*[2] exactly in the same style. Here (1) the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.), (2) his feudatory Rāṇā Amarsiṁha II (1678-1710 A.D.) and (3) the latter's subordinate, the Rathor Jāgīrdār Keśavadāsa, are mentioned without specifying their mutual relations, although there cannot be any doubt on the point.

III. Another inscription from Sitamau, dated V.S. 1775 (1718 A.D.), contains the passage: *Pātasāha śrī-Sapharakaseṇajī Rāṇajī Amarasīghajī Mahārājajīḥ Keśodāsajī*[3] without specific mention of the relations existing among (1) the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-19 A.D.), (2) his feudatory Rāṇā Amarasiṁha (sic. Saṅgrāmasiṁha), and (3) the latter's subordinate Mahārāja Keśavadāsa of Sitamau.

There is no necessity of multiplying instances giving the names of three contemporary rulers, viz. a small ruler, his immediate liege-lord, and the imperial ruler of the country, without specifically mentioning their mutual relations as is the case in the Toda Raisingh epigraph. I think that the instances quoted above will convince any serious student of history regarding the soundness of my interpretation of the evidence of the Toda Raising record as well as the hollowness of Mr. Tiwari's contention.

D. C. SIRCAR

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[2] From a transcript received from Mahārājkumār Dr. Raghubir Sinh.

[3] From another transcript received from the Mahārājkumār.

REVIEWS

ETHNIC SETTLEMENTS IN ANCIENT INDIA—PART I (Northern India) by Dr. Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph. D. with a Foreword by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

This is a fascinating work on the geography and ethnography of India as portrayed in early tradition, which bears ample evidence of the author's competence for handling a highly complicated and intricate subject of Indological study. The historical value of the geographical sections in the *Bṛhatsāmhitā* and the Purāṇas was for the first time critically assessed by eminent scholars like Kern and Pargiter, and the path shown by them was subsequently followed by a few others whose contributions did not aim to be as systematic and intensive in character as those of the pioneer workers. With a few notable exceptions, progress of research in this field has been rather slow and desultory, evidently due to the formidable difficulty to be encountered in any effort that may be made to reconstruct the Purāṇic texts, abounding in variant and corrupt readings, not to speak of the bewildering variations in the accounts presented by the different works of this legendary literature. The work, carried out by previous writers on the subject, did not claim to be final and definitive; its chief credit lay in opening up an altogether new field of research where much remained to be explored before a fairly complete and dependable picture could be obtained. Dr. Chaudhuri undertook a systematic study of the subject on the lines of his predecessors with characteristic zeal and earnestness, and after several years of patient research has succeeded in presenting a volume, which, within the limits defined, is more comprehensive in its plan than any previous publication on the historical geography of ancient India.

Geography, as treated in the Purāṇas, is inseparable from ethnic associations. The author, who follows the Purāṇic scheme of dividing India into a number of specific regions, based on direction, as foreshadowed in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, has attempted to explain the geographical names compiled from different sources, and also their ethnic significance wherever it can be traced with the help of available data. There were other methods of dividing India for classification of geographical details. These methods have also been examined, and the information gathered has been utilized from the standpoint of the plan of regional division of India, adopted by the Purāṇas in general. The book consists of eight chapters. In the first chapter the author undertakes a critical examination of his sources in their relation to one another, which is followed by six others in which he separately explores the geography of the different regions as mapped out by the writers of the Purāṇas and other allied texts, viz. the Central, Northern, North-Western and North-Eastern, Western and Eastern Divisions. The last chapter embodies the author's views, admirably presented, on the character of the literary tradition utilised by him, and its usefulness in unfolding the history of the culture and civilization of ancient India. In this chapter he has shown with conspicuous ability that the Purāṇas mixed up tradition carried down from different strata of the antecedent past, sometimes unrelated to the realities of the periods when they were composed and compiled, with notices of contemporary conditions which were not beyond the scope of their observation. Thus while they preserve distorted memories of a dim and untraceable past, they also mention the Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, Hūṇas, and even the Turuṣkas who appeared on the Indian scene in the historical periods.

Though Dr. Chaudhuri's book is deliberately based on the Purāṇic plan, he has compiled his materials quite adequately from all available sources, particularly coins, inscriptions and foreign accounts, and has thus been able to reconstruct the entire geography of Northern India in a connected form. It is not expected, however, that all his conclusions should be universally accepted. Certain issues will still remain controversial until fresh material is found which can settle the disputed points. The author's view that the Purāṇic tradition connects the Kāruṣas, Cedis, Vatsas, Matsyas and Magadhas as constituents of one ethnic group requires further examination; this tradition does not seem to be of the same nature as the one relating to the origin of some eastern peoples mentioned in the Purāṇas, to which he has referred. His suggestion about the ethnic significance of the many references to the Bhadras as noted by him, whom he apparently connects with the Bhadras of Central India, supposed to have been associated with the basin of the upper Gangetic basin in the Dehra-Dun Kumaon regions, is at best a tentative one. The recent discovery of a seal inscription of the Maurya period mentioning the word 'Bhadrapālakasa' among the finds at Rupar (Ambala District) may probably go in favour of the proposed location of the Bhadras of the Central Division if the expression means 'the governor or ruler of the Bhadras'. More proof is needed in support of the view that the Arimedhas may have been so-called because of a custom of sacrificing enemies, which may have prevailed among them. The device of manufacturing names to fill up blanks or for similar purposes was not infrequently resorted to. It is not unlikely that words like Arimedha, Priyamedha, etc. may have been attempts at Sanskritization of names originally current in different forms, the grounds of such equations remaining unknown. The author has made a painstaking effort to place the ancient geography of a Bengal on a stable basis. To a great extent he appears to have succeeded in this task, but it is not possible to eliminate the controversial issues altogether. The date of the Soro Plates, as given on page 74, is wrong.

Although differences of opinion are there on some of the points discussed by the author, even while differing one will have to admit the force and cogency of his arguments and the compelling nature of the vast amount of material he has collected. Dr. Chaudhuri has brought to bear upon his subject a fresh and original outlook. He is as thorough in his search for material as in its critical analysis and appraisement. His work, which combines to a striking extent erudition with clarity of expression, will be found useful and instructive by every scholar interested in Indian antiquities. It is a book of solid and substantial merit which it will not be easy to replace.

Benoy Chandra Sen

STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE AESTHETICS by Dr. Pravasjivan Chaudhuri, M.A., D.Phil. Published by Visvabharati, Santiniketan 1953 pp. ii + 127.

Though the author calls this collection of essays "Studies in Comparative Aesthetics" his discussions are based almost exclusively on literary data, and students of this subject may sometimes be profited by it. In it he has tried to discuss the theories of *rasa* and *dhvani* taken chiefly from Abhinavagupta, and the author's interpretation of these theories has been in the setting of modern psychology with a view to helping the solution of present-day problems. But his principal aim has been to discover affinities and resemblances in the philosophical ideas of the East and the West, also with the same end in view. The brochure includes the following studies: I. A sketch of a Theory of Poetry, II. Objectification of Feelings in Art, III. Psychical Distance in Indian Aesthetics, IV. Psychical Distance: its Aesthetic and Metaphysical Significance, V. The Problem of Artistic Truth, VI Emotive Meaning in the Light of Indian Aesthetics, VII. The Theory of Rasa, VIII. The Theory of Suggestion in Poetry, IX. A Vedantic Aesthetics, X. Aesthetics of Rabindranath Tagore.

Written on such varieties of topics this brochure shows a wide range of studies on the subject and some original observations, on the part of the author. It will afford a delightful reading to persons interested in the topics mentioned above and will sometimes stimulate their enquiry in cognate fields.

But without casting any reflection on the merit of this work which is of a pioneering kind, we shall discuss below some points from which it appears that the author is not quite equal to the task undertaken. What strikes most a careful reader of this work, is that the author has not an adequate acquaintance with the original Sanskrit works which he cited as authorities or from which he made quotations (in translation). For example, in the footnote to the page 77, he ascribes to Abhinavagupta the following: 'The meaning of poetry is *rasa*; what is principally looked for, is meaning (*Abhinavabhāratī* on NS. 7.1). This translation is based on काव्यस्यार्थो रसः । अर्थ्यन्ते प्रधान्येनेत्यर्थाः. The author curiously enough has failed to notice the next sentence न त्वर्थशब्दोऽभिधेयवाची (*artha* does not signify meaning). And he translates the expression ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरः (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*

III. 35) first as 'identical with the taste of one's blissful self' (p. 77 last line), and next as 'the twin of the relish of Brahman' (p. 78, 3rd line of the footnote). It is needless to point out that none of these renderings, is accurate. His translation of वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम् (*Sābityadarpaṇa* I. 3) as 'a composition touched with *rasa* is poetry' is also equally misleading. It is regretted that the author's otherwise very interesting and useful discussion has been weakened by the kind of inaccuracy pointed out above.

The author's references are sometimes not quite distinct. The original of his translation of an extract from the *Dhvanyālokalocana* (I. 4) seems to be untraceable in the Kāvyamālā ed. of the work. And besides this, he does not mention which editions of Skt. works have been referred to.

From the author's discussion on "Psychical Distance in Indian Aesthetics (pp. 85 ff.) it appears that he had not properly grasped the viewpoint of ancient Indian writers on poetics. Viśvanātha who admirably sets forth their views, concludes that in the enjoyment of *rasa*, love (*rati*) etc., are neither totally subjective nor totally objective. For love etc. lead to *rasa* when they are *sādhāraṇīkṛta* (universalized). For he says रत्यादेरपि ह्यात्मगतत्वेन प्रतीतौ सभ्यानां व्रीडातङ्कादिर्भवेत् परगतत्वेन त्वरस्यतापातः। विभावादयोऽपि प्रथमतः साधारण्येन प्रतीयन्ते.

In spite of the drawbacks mentioned above, this work will be found useful to our students of Indian poetics. Views of Western thinkers referred to in it will help them to appreciate better the speculation of their forefathers on similar subjects. The author's discussion on Aesthetics of Rabindranath Tagore, though very brief, may be said to give more or less a dependable glimpse of the great poet-philosopher's ideas on some problems of literary criticism and general aesthetics.

N. C. V.

MĪRĀBĀI-KĀ JĪVAN-CARITRA of Munshi Deviprasad, edited by Lalitaprasad Sukul, published by Vaṅgīya Hindī Pariṣad, Calcutta, 1954, pp. vii+62.

Mīrabāi is one of the most celebrated among those who enriched the modern Indo-Aryan languages of India by their contribution. Her life of unmixed devotion to God as well as her bold disregard of petty conventions of society which stood in the way of realising her great ideals, has put her in the forefront of India's saints. The fact that she was a woman lent further charm to her very noble and edifying career. But as in many other cases of Indian culture, no historical account of her life has come down to us. It was to fill up this *lacuna* that Munshi Deviprasad, one of the early writers of modern Hindi, compiled very critically a life of Mirābāi. This small but well-written work published more than half a century ago may be said to have stood the test of time and it has not yet been surpassed. Hence it has been a happy idea of Prof. Lalitaprasad Sukul to reprint it with his editorial notes, and additional matters. In the short introduction Prof Sukul has sketched the condition of Mīrābāi's locality (Rajasthan) and her royal surroundings, and given a short account of the life of Munshi Deviprasad, the writer of her history. And in the Appendices Prof. Sukul has discussed for profit as well as delectation of scholars the following valuable topics: (a) text-history of Mirābāi's *padas*, (b) etymology of the word 'Mīrā', (c) local evidences on Mīrā's life, (d) Mīrābāi and Sri Caitanya, (e) Raidās (Ravidāsa) and Mīrā, and (f) a brief bibliography of writings on Mīrābāi. We can wholeheartedly congratulate the editor and the publishers for presenting this very useful volume to the reading public. The name of Sri Ramkumar Bhuwalka who generously bore the expenses of this publication deserves also to be mentioned in the present connexion.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

KALPASŪTRA of Bhadrabāhu (text and Bengali translation with introduction, notes and glossarial index) by Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya. *Īśāna-grantha-mālā*, no 1. published by the Calcutta University, 1953. Demy Octavo, pp. 11+159+127+311.

This is the first work to be published in the *Īśānagranthamālā* (Iśān Translation Series). The series owe their origin to the munificence of the late Prof. P.C. Ghosh who placed in the hands of the Calcutta University a fund in the memory of his father Ishan Chandra Ghosh who made himself famous by translating the voluminous Jātaka into Bengali. In the foreword to the volume Prof. Dr. S. K. Chartteji has stressed among other things on the need of a Bengali translation of Jain Canonical works and has discussed the intimate connexion of Jains with the culture of Bengal. The translator's introduction includes the following topics: Jain elements in the ancient Indian literature, Canonical and non-canonical Jain literature, the Ardhamāgadhī language. He also gives a life-sketch of Bhadrabāhu, Tīrthaṅkaras and substance of the *Kalpasūtra* and a brief account of the life of Mahāvīra. All these will help in the understanding of the text and the translation.

The translator has adopted the text edited by Prof. Jacobi (1878) and in his translation too he seems to have generally followed Jacobi. It may be said that his translation has been generally good and it will help ordinary readers to obtain an authentic knowledge of Mahāvīra's life and Jain monastic life as they were viewed by Bhadrabāhu more than thirteen centuries ago. One notable feature of this work is that it prints the corresponding text of the Kalpasūtra on the left page in the manner of the wellknown Loeb's classics. It can be said to be a notable addition to Bengali literature and the Calcutta University can be congratulated on its publication.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

A BRIEF CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS in the post-graduate Department of Sanskrit by Pandit Amarendra Mohan Tarkatirtha, Calcutta University, 1954, pp. vi+137.

It is a great pity that the Calcutta University realised rather late the need of having a collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts, but a greater pity is that the Catalogue under review in spite of the great competence of its author is almost an ordinary list. A more detailed catalogue of really important mss. should have been compiled. It may be hoped that by undertaking such a work the Dept. of Sanskrit of the Calcutta University will better serve the cause of Sanskrit studies and earn the gratitude of scholars who may be under the necessity of using any ms. of the collection.

However, in spite of the drawback pointed out above, the present volume will prove to be of some use to those who are interested in the critical study of Sanskrit texts.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

THE OLD-JAVANESE RĀMĀYANA KAKAWIN with special reference to the problem of interpolation in Kakawins (*Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Deel XVI) by Prof. Dr. C. Hooykaas. 'S-Gravenhage-Martinus Nijhoff-1955, 65 pp.

Prof. Hooykaas is well-known as a specialist in the Old Javanese literature. In this brochure he has studied the alleged cases of interpolation of the old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (OJR.) Kakawin. From his argument which will be mentioned later on, it is clear that some two hundred verse lines of the OJR., considered by the earlier investigators (including Kern) as spurious, were mostly genuine compositions of Yogīśvara its author (c. 11th century). After a very detailed comparison of the OJR. with the Bhaṭṭikāvya (BhK.) he has conclusively shown that the passages of the former work, which were considered to be interpolations because of their extremely erotic character, had their counterpart in the latter. It may be mentioned here that the possible close connexion between the two works was pointed out for the first time by the present reviewer (*Journal of the Greater India Society*, 1936) and this information was later on utilised by Dr. C. Buckle for a general comparison of the two works in his *Rāmakathā* (Allahabad 1950, p. 232). But it remained for Prof. Hooykaas to make a stanza by stanza comparison to know exactly the relation between the OJR. and BhK. By means of this comparison he has very successfully demolished the aforesaid theory of interpolation based on what may be called mid-Victorian prudishness. But this however is not the only achievement of Prof. Hooykaas in this brochure. His very laborious and critical study of the metres and the structural pattern of the OJR. as well as a very detailed analysis of its contents, place before the scholars ample data which throw welcome light on various aspects of the Indian influence on the old Javanese literature. And some of these aspects have been pointed out by the author in his section IV (Conclusions). He has very rightly shown reluctance to include in his Conclusions his 'impression' about Yogīśvara's having acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit in India (pp. 33-34). The wonderful command of Sanskrit metres and *alaṃkāras* which Yogīśvara shows in his OJR. may also be otherwise explained. But we may infer from the relevant data which Prof. Hooykaas has so carefully collected, that Yogīśvara in the composition of his great work followed the motto *Je prends mon bien où je le trove.* For this very learned and fascinating study of the OJR. the scholars will feel genuinely thankful to the author. Though we differ from him on some minor points among which his acceptance of the *Kumārasambhava* IX-XVII as genuine is one, we are glad to say that the present brochure has been a very valuable contibution to our knowledge of the old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin and other works of its class.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XXXVI (1955)

Śures Chandra Banerji.—*Kṛṣi-parāśara—A Work on Agriculture.* The work described here is the only work in Sanskrit dealing exclusively with agricultural operations.

P. T. Raju.—*The Conception of Sat (Existence) in Śaṅkara's Advaita,*

V. M. Kulkarni.—*The Rāmāyaṇa Version of Śīlācārya as found in the Caüpaṇṇamahapurisacariya.* The *Caüpaṇṇamahapurisacariya* (Lives of Fifty-four Eminent Men) is a Prakrit work by Śīlācarya or Śīlāṅkācarya. The story of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as given in this Jain work appears on comparison to be an abridged form of Vālmīki's version with some Jain features inartistically added.

P. M. Modi.—*Departure of the Seeker from the Body.* A fresh study of Brahmasūtra IV. 2

R. C. Hazra.—*The Śāmbapurāṇa, a Saura Work of Different Hands.* The *Śāmbapurāṇa* is mainly devoted to the cult of the sun. An analysis of its contents shows that the work has undergone handlings by different authors at different times, the Magian elements being incorporated probably during the reign of the Scythian kings.

P. K. Gode.—*History of the Practice of Massage in Ancient and Medieval India—between c. B. C. 1000 and A. D. 1900.*

R. D. Karmarkar.—*The Original Name of India.* It is conjectured mainly from some statements found in the *Purāṇas* that Mānavavarṣa was the original name of the land where Manu's descendants lived. Manu's grandson Ṛṣabha is said to have been none other than the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara of that name, whose son Bharata was a good ruler immortalised subsequently in the name Bhāratavarṣa. Not liking the Jain association with the name of India, the later writers have introduced another Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta instead.

—.—*The Authorship of the Pārvatīpariṇaya.* The writer objects to a summary rejection of Bāṇa's authorship in regard to the drama *Pārvatīpariṇaya.* It is argued that the drama may have suffered 'oblivion because of the far more well-known works, the *Kādambari* and *Harṣacarita* written by Bāṇa himself, and also because the plot of the drama was more or less based upon the incidents in the *Kumārasambhava*' of Kālidāsa.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Kinds of Expositions in Sanskrit Literature.* Various types of expositions like Vṛtti, Vārtika, Vyākhyā, Ṭīkā, Pañjīkā as known in Sanskrit literature have been enumerated with their respective characteristics and examples.

K. V. ABHYANKAR.—*A Short Note on Paribhāṣā Works in Sanskrit Literature.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London, vol. XVII, pt. 3 (1955)

T. W. Clark.—*Evolution of Hinduism in Medieval Bengali Literature: Śiva, Caṇḍī, Manasā.* The *Maṅgalakāvyas* of Medieval Bengal are narrative poems in honour of various deities. The *Caṇḍī-maṅgala*, *Manasāvijaya* and *Śivāyana* in Bengali concern themselves with the deities Caṇḍī, Manasā and Śiva. The poems depict the ways of these deities with one another and with man. Though generally influenced by Purāṇic ideas, some of the religious beliefs and practices as found in the *Maṅgalakāvyas* do not conform to the orthodox pattern.

A. A. BAKE.—*The Appropriation of Śiva's Attributes by Devī.* The idea that Śiva without Śakti is an 'inertness'—*na khalu kuśalaḥ spanditum api*—shows that Devī has usurped Śiva's powers and prerogatives. This 'appropriation of Śiva's attributes by Devī' happens in every sphere. Originally, Śiva was credited with both aspects of Dance, Tāṇḍava as well as Lāsya. But in course of time the latter became a preserve of Devī.

Journal of the American Oriental Society,
vol. 75, no. 2 (April-June, 1955)

P. E. DUMONT.—*The Meaning of the Vedic Word 'ghoṣád'.* The rare word *ghoṣád* occurs in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* in a formula addressed to Agni *yajñasya ghoṣád asi.* The form *ghoṣád* is considered as an irregular nominative singular masculine of the stem *gosádh* (from *go + sadh*) meaning a 'cattle-provider'. The aspiration *h* in *sadh* has been transferred to the consonant of the preceding syllable *go*, changing *gosádh* into *ghoṣád.*

Journal of the Bihar Research Society,
vol. XLI, pt. 2 (June, 1955)

D. C. SIRCAR.—*Jaynagar Image Inscription of Year 35.* A short inscription under the image of a female deity found at Jaynagar in the Monghyr district of Bihar had been partially deciphered before and thought to have contained the name of Gauḍeśvara Palapāla who was considered to be an otherwise unknown Pāla king of the latest period of the lingering Pāla dynasty. The correctness of the reading and the authority of the evidence were however not accepted by all. The epigraph has now been wholly deciphered. Written in corrupt Sanskrit, it records that the deity representing Puṇyeśvarī or Pūrṇeśvarī with Child was installed in the 35th year of the Gauḍa king Palapāla. It is suggested that Palapāla might have been a successor of Govindapāla ruling in the 12th century over the eastern part of his predecessor's domain in Bihar.

P. BANERJEE.—*Foreign Elements in Neo-Brāhmaṇic Society.* Literary traditions and epigraphic evidence are adduced to show that Brahmanism was an elastic institution always ready to admit into its fold non-Brahmins including the foreigners, if they elected to observe some rites and to accept some beliefs of the Brāhmaṇical society.

SANTI LAL KATRE.—*Seal of Kalacuri Jayasiṃhadeva.* This copper-seal of Jayasiṃhadeva, the successor of Kalacuri Narasiṃhadeva depicts a seated Gajalakṣmī with four hands.

S. V. SOHANI.—*Inscription of Mohammad-bin-Yusufat Bediban.* This inscription of 1346 A.C. records in Arabic the construction of an enclosure for a saint by a Muhammadan in Bediban near Mehasi in the district of Champaran.

SUNIL CHANDRA ROY.—*Studies on the History of Religion in Ancient Kāshmīra.* The paper gives an account of the different types of religious cults and beliefs of ancient Kāshmīra. The Nāga worship seems to have been one of the earliest cults of the land. Subsequently Buddhism entered into the valley, and the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and many other Purāṇic gods were introduced.

J. N. BANERJEE.—*Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard.*

PARAMANANDAN SASTRI.—प्राचीन तिब्बत में आयुर्वेद का प्रचार (Āyurveda in Ancient Tibet).

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vols. XI-XII, pts. 1-4

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.—*The Nature of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.* Originally Buddha's lessons were recorded in the popular dialects prevalent in the land. But influenced by the great prestige of Sanskrit, the Buddhist ~~monks~~ were tempted to adapt in their writings a linguistic form that was not in fact corrupt Sanskrit 'but is a partially and imperfectly Sanskritized Middle Indic.'

TARAKEŚWAR BHATTACHARYA.—*A Forgotten Chapter of the History of Ancient Indian Astronomy.* Discussions in the paper relate to the fundamental aspects of the subject of astronomy in ancient India, e.g. tropical system, sidereal system, month-names, indicator Nakṣatras etc.

KAILAS CHANDRA OJHA.—*Chronology of the Mauryas.* An approximate chronology for the Maurya period is suggested on the basis of fresh arguments: Candragupta 320-300 B.C., Bindusāra 300-275 B.C., Aśoka 275-240 B.C., successors of Aśoka 240-200 B.C.

DIMBESWAR NEOG.—*Modern Assamese Literature.* This is an account of the Assamese literature for the period between 1826 and 1947 A.C.

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Early History and Archaeology of Kurukṣetra and Ambala Division*

I. *Early Notices of Location and Extent*

The realm of the ancient Kurus, over which Parīkṣit ruled, was very extensive indeed. The *Digvijaya Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* narrates[1] that it "extended from the border of the land of the Kulindas (near the sources of the Sutlej, the Jumnā and the Ganges) to that of the Śūrasenas and the Matsyas (in the Mathurā and the Bairāṭa regions respectively), and from the frontier of Rohtak (East Panjāb) to that of the Pañcālas (of Rohilkhand). It was divided into three parts, Kurujāṅgala[2], Kurus[3] proper and Kurukṣetra". Kuru kingdom and Kuru *janapada* were well known to Pāṇini (IV. 1. 172). The Kāśikā enumerates all the three different units of the Kuru country i.e. *Kuravāśca Kurukṣetraṃ ca Kuru-Kurukṣetram*,[4] *Kuravāśca Kurujāṅgalaṃ ca Kuru-Kurujāṅgalam*. (*India*, p. 54). According to Dr. V. S. Agrawala (*India*, p. 54): —

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*ABBREVIATIONS

CASR =Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Calcutta.
Report =C. J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of Archaeological Survey*, Calcutta, 1891.
ASR =*Archaeological Survey of India* (Annual Report).
India =V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, 1953, Lucknow University.
JUPHS =*Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.
Dey, =N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient & Mediaeval India.*
EI =*Epigraphia Indica.*
JBORS =*Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
JNSI =*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.

[1] H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (=*PHAI*), 5th ed., Calcutta, pp. 21-2. He (p. 22) thinks that it corresponded to modern Delhi, Thānesar and the Upper Gangetic Doab.

[2] Probably the wild region of Kuru realm, stretching from the Kāmyaka forest (on the bank of the river Saraswatī) to Khāṇḍava near the Jumnā (*ibid*, p. 22). In certain passages it indicates even the whole of the country,

[3] Probably located in the region around Hastināpur, near Meerut (*ibid*, p. 22). The royal residence, according to Vedic Texts, was apparently Āsandīvat.

(i) Kuru-*rāṣṭra* proper was between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā rivers with its capital at Hastināpura;

(ii) Kurujāṅgala was equal to Rohtak, Hānsī and Hissār; while

(iii) Kurukṣetra was situated still to the north with its centre at Thānesar, Kaithal and Karnāl.

According to the *Taittirīya Āraṇyka*[5] (V. 1. 1.), the places bounding the region of Kurukṣetra were:—Khāṇḍava (to the south), Tūrghna (to the north), Pariṇāh[6] (to the west) etc. The same region has also been located[7] between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī rivers or between Tarantuka, Arantuka, Rāmahrada and Macakruka. This area was also irrigated by other rivers such as Aruṇā, Aṁśumatī or Indumatī, Āpayā or Āpagā, Kauśikī, Oghavatī, Hiraṇyavatī etc.

The other name of the place (i.e. *Samantapañcaka*), so often cited in the *Mahābhārata*, seems to denote the area of the region as 5 *Yojanas* on all the four sides. According to Hemacandra, the author of the *Abhidhānacīntāmaṇi*[8] (IV. 16), Kurukṣetra extended up to 12

Prof. Raychaudhuri (*ibid*, p. 32) opines that "the city may have been identica with Nāgasāhvaya or Hastināpur but it is more probably represented by the modern Asandha near the Chitaṅg". But it should also be noted that Chitaṅg river has been associated with the Kurukṣetra region. Cf. *India*, pp. 54-5.

[4] Cf. Monier Williams, *A. Skt. Eng. Dictionary*, 1899, Oxford, p. 294 *s. v.* Kuru.

[5] Vināyaka Gaṇeśa Apte's Ed., 1926, Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 169-70; My paper *Kurukṣetra in Vedic Literature* in the *Journal of Indian History*, Trivendrum, April, 1955, pp. 85-90; cf. my paper in *IHQ*, March 1955, pp. 1-30 also.

[6] Raychaudhuri (*op. cit.* p. 22 f. n. 6) identifies it with the *Parenos* of Arrian (Indika, IV), a tributary of the Indus; Cf. Raychaudhuri, p. 38 also for similar views.

[7] In the *Mahābharata* and the *Purāṇās*; see my paper in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1955, pp. 1-31 for details.

[8] Bhāvanagar ed., Veer era 2441, p. 379; Cf. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Calcutta, XIV, pp. 87-91.

yojanas i.e. *Dharmakṣetre Kurukṣetre dvādaśa-yojanāvadhiḥ*. Yuan Chwang, a Chinese pilgrim who visited India in the 7th century A. C., refers to the kingdom of *Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo* (Skt. *Sthāṇvīśvara*, modern Thānesar[9]) as about 7000 *li* in circuit and the capital 20 *li* or so[10].

II. *Geography of the region in Mediaeval Inscriptions*

The undated *praśasti* (of Mahendrapāla) from Pehoā (district Karnāl; *EI*, I, pp. 242 ff.), describes Kurukṣetra (verse 3, p. 248) and the river Sarasvatī (verse 4, p. 248) in beautiful words:—

(i) "May the field of Kuru grant happiness, free from all pains, (that field) which is able to remove the impurity of sins of many kinds, that is inhabited by crowds of sages; who have destroyed the dense darkness (of ignorance) by gaining the knowledge of the self; (and hence) are filled with deep joy".

(ii) "And may that (beautiful) water of Sarasvatī's (stream) entirely cut your (bonds of) misery, (that water which is) a boat (for crossing the ocean of births), a chariot for travelling along the road of gods, a cloud such as appears on the destruction of world shedding copious showers on the fire of......the virtuous (and) a sun to destroy thick mud like darkness of a concatenation of virtuous diseases".

The same epigraph also refers to the names of three villages (Yakṣapālaka, Gejjara and Pāṭala) assigned for the *bhoga* (the services) of the temple in the locality. It is of course not at all possible to identify these places.

The other inscription from Pehoā's Garībanāth temple is dated in *saṃvat* 276 and refers to the traditional name of the place as Pṛthūdaka[11] (*EI*, I, pp. 184 ff; Cf. *JASB*, XXII, pp. 673 ff). It is also stated therein (line 14) that the place lay to the east of the river Sarasvatī. The Betmā grant (C. India), dated in *saṃvat* 1076 (=1020 A. C.) also states that a certain Brahmin (named Paṇḍita Della) had come from Sthaṇvīśvara to the village of Nālataḍāga (H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 1936, Calcutta, p. 862).

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[9] Another name for Kurukṣetra (29°58′ N. Lat., 76°50′ E. Long).

[10] S. Beal's *Records of the Buddhist World*, I, Book IV, p. 18. Alexander Cunningham (*The Geography of Ancient India*, London, 1871, pp. 328-9) however interprets 7000 *li* as equal to 1167 miles but he does not agree with this view of Yuan-Chwang.

[11] Modern Pehowā, 29°59′ N. Lat. and 76°35′ East Long., about 17 miles from Thānesar. Painted grey ware has been found here too; cf. *Ancient India*, X-XI, New Delhi, p. 141.

The mediaeval epigraphs also refer to *Hariyānā* or *Hariyānaka* (modern Hariāṇā, comprising of the districts of Hissār and Rohtaka). The Delhi Museum inscription (dated 1328 A. C. in the reign of Muhammad Tughalak; *EI*, I, pp. 93-5) furnishes the following information on this point:—

> "There is a country called *Hariyānā*, a very heaven on earth; there lies the city called *Ḍhillika* (modern Delhi) built by the Tomaras" (H. C. Ray, *op cit.*, p. 1145). The Pālam Baolī inscription (from the village Boh'er, in the Rohtaka district) is dated in V. S. 1337 (=1280 A. C) and states that the "land of *Hariyānaka* was first enjoyed by the Tomaras and then by the Cauhānas. It is now being ruled by the Śaka (i.e. Muslim) king etc.," (*Ibid*, p. 1146).

III. *Early Associations*

The Epic tradition connects the Puru-Bharata family with the kings of the Kurukṣetra region.[12] This association of the Bharatas with Kuru-land is also attested by the Vedic literature for the two Bharata princes (i.e. Devaśravas and Devavāta) happened to offer sacrifices in the land watered by the Āpayā, the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī[13]. We are also informed in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Epics that "Bharata Dauṣayantī made offerings on the Jumnā, the Ganges and the Sarasvatī. The territory indicated in these laudatory verses is exactly the region which is later on so highly celebrated as Kurukṣetra".[14] In fact the earlier history of Kurukṣetra is all shrouded in mystery. *It is proposed here, in the present paper, to throw some light on the history and archaeology of the region of Kurukṣetra and the territory bounding it (i.e. Karnāl, Ambālā, Hissār, Rohtak, Sonepat*[15]*, Pānipat etc., now included in the Ambālā Division of East Panjab).*

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[12] *PHAI*, p. 23.

[13] *R. Veda*, III. 23. 4. Maxmuller, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, 1877, London, p. 226.

[14] *PHIA*, pp. 23-4. Cf. *ibid*, pp. 36-7 for the Kuru realm under Janamejaya, pp. 68-70; for the Kuru realm in the *Upniṣads*; pp. 133-4; for the Kuru land in the *Jātaka* and the *Jaina* literature etc.

III A. *Importance of the Area*

(i) Indra killed the Vṛtra, near the Somatīrtha or Vedic Śaryaṇāvat.

(ii) Pururavas found his beloved Urvaśī here (*Śat. Br.*, XI. 5. 14).

(iii) Ancient sages performed the Vedic sacrifices and kindled the sacred fire at Kurukṣetra[16].

(iv) The Great War was fought here between the Pāṇḍus and the Kauravas.

(v) The famous battle of Tarāoṛī[17] was fought between Pṛthvī Rāja and Muhammed Ghori.

(vi) The Battle of Pānipat[18] was fought between Bābar and Ibrahim Lodi.

(vii) The Marathas were defeated at Pānipat at the hands of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī[19].

(viii) Even after the partition of India, millions of refugees were able to find shelter in the Refugee Relief Camp at Kurukṣetra. In fact Kurukṣetra region has played a great role in the history of India. It had the privilege of witnessing the rise and fall of many kingdoms, some of which happened to be closely associated with the district of Kurukṣetra.

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[15] i.e. *Soṇaprastha* of Pāṇini. Places ending with *prastha* (Hindi *pata*) are confined mostly to the Kuru country and the region of the Himalayas watered by the Ganges. Cf. *India*, p. 67; *JUPHS*; XVI (i), p. 44; also *ibid*, p. 45 referring to a hill in Kurukṣetra.

[16] *R. Veda*, IX. 113. 1; Cf. *CASR*; II, pp. 218-19; *Geography of Ancient India*, 1871, London, pp. 335-6; *Report*, p. 8.

[17] Tarāoṛi (तरावडी) is only at a short distance from Thānesar; cf. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, Banaras, p. 329.

[18] Pānipat is ancient *Pāṇiprastha*—very near to Kurukṣetra on the Delhi-Ambala Railway line.

[19] Cf. Moti Chand, *Sārthavāha* (Hindī), 1953, Patna, p. 14; *An Advanced History of India*, 1950, London, p. 549 as edited by Sarkar, Majumdar aud Dutta.

(ix) It lay on the ancient trade route connecting the Western Panjab with Northern India[20]. It is interesting to note that the existing Grand-Trunk road, which connects Peshawar and Calcutta, passes through Ambala, Kurukṣetra, Karnāl, Pānipat, Sonepat, Delhi etc. It has been narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 74. 11-5-cited in *Sārthavāha*, p. 16) that the ambassadors, deputed to bring Bharata from the Kekaya country, crossed the Ganges, reached the town of Hastināpur and then came to Kurukṣetra. It was here that they saw the *Vāruṇītīrtha* and crossed the river Sarasvatī. Then began their journey towards the Śaradaṇḍā[21] (i.e. the modern river Sirhind).

IV. *Some Early Finds*

(i) It was at Koṭalā Nihaṅg Khān (Rupar) in the Ambala district of E. Panjab that archaeological excavations[22] brought to light sufficient Indus Valley antiquities testifying to the extension of this culture towards the Gangetic plain. It is regretted that no such finds from the Kurukṣetra region have been reported so far. Recent excavations at Rūpar have brought to light 5 habitation-phases beginning from 2000 B. C. to 1700 A. C. The discovery of grey and N. B. P. Wares here at Rupar is also very interesting indeed; (cf. *The March of India*, VI, no. 3, Delhi, 1953, pp. 12-16; *Ancient India, Bull. of Arch. Surv of India*, IX, pp. 123-6; *Indian Archaelogy* 1953-4 *A Review*, 1954, New Delhi, pp. 6-7 and plates; *ibid*, 1955, pp. 9-11, 59 for Indus Valley Culture in the region of Rupar).

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[20] There was another ancient route also. Fahien did reach Mathurā but Kurukṣetra did not fall on his way. Similarly Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya, after his return from Taxila, came via Bhadraṅkara (Siālkoṭ), Udumbara (Paṭhānkoṭ), Rohītaka (Rohtak), Mathurā etc. Cf. *Sārthavāha, op. cit.*, p. 142. The world conquest in the *Mahābhārata* refers to the expeditions to Sirsā, Rohtak etc., but not to Kurukṣetra; Cf. *Sārthavāha, op. cit.*, p. 16.

[21] In the words of Dr. Agrawala [*India*, p, 58] "the two names Śaradaṇḍā and Śarasvatī point to their being one and the same river. The latter formed the boundary between the *Prācya* and the *Udicya* divisions of India and may be identified with the Dṛṣadvatī or Chitāṅg."

[22] Cf. M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, 1940, Delhi, I, pp. 476-7. It was in the years 1953-5 too that excavations were conducted in the college area at Rūpar. Cf. Y. D. Sharma's paper in *The March of India*, Delhi VI (3), 1953, pp. 12-16; also *Indian Archaeology A Review*, 1953-4 and 1954-55, New Delhi, for more sites near Rupar.

(ii) Mr. B. B. Lal was able to discover certain pieces of the *Painted Grey-Ware*[23] (of about 800 B. C.) at various places of this area i.e. at Amīn (5 miles from Kurukṣetra), Rājā-Karṇa-kā-Kilā at Kurukṣetra, Pehoā (ancient Pṛthūdaka, near Kurukṣetra), Pānipat etc. (*Ancient India*, X-XI, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-141).

(iii) D. B. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1922-3, pp. 89-90) opined that the ancient mound named Rājā-Karṇa-kā-Kilā at Thānesar might well date back from the Pre-Buddhist period. But he regretted about the utter absence of any material bearing upon the history of the region in those good old days. Spooner (*ibid*, 1921-2, p. 46) also states that "Kurukṣetra is frequently alluded to in the Buddhist *Jātakas*, the most important reference to it being in the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*".

(iv) The famous Toprā (Ambālā district; *CASR.*, XIV, pp. 78 ff.) pillar[24]-edicts of Dharmarāja Aśoka bear testimony to the importance of this place as a stronghold of the Mauryan administration. The discovery of some uninscribed cast coins at Sugha[25] (ancient Srughna in the Ambālā Dist.)

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[23] Cf. B. B. Lal's paper on *The Painted Grey Ware of the Upper Gangetic Basin*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters) N. S.*, XVI, 1950 pp. 89 ff.; also *Ancient India*, X-XI, pp. 138 ff. for such sites in the region of Hissar and Rohtak.

[24] Now preserved in the Feroz Shāh's Koṭalā at Delhi. Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, XVII; *Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 245 ff; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, p. 119; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 55ff. for the text of these pillar-edicts. Consult Elliot's *History of India*, London, III, pp. 250-1 about the account of the transfer of the pillar to Delhi in the time of Feroz Shāh Tughlak.

[25] Srughna has also been referred to in the accounts of Yuan Chwang and

is also very interesting (*Report*, p. 24). These coins mostly bear a *caitya* on one side and a lion or an elephant on the other. Cunningham (*Geography of Ancient India*, 1924, Calcutta, p. 397) reports that the area of Sugha, Māṇḍalapur, Būriā and Jagādharī has yielded coins ranging from the square punch-marked to the times of the Cauhān and the Tomara Rājās of Delhi. Thus he rightly asserts that Sugha, a site of the punch-marked coins, is at least as old as 500 B. C., if not 1000 B. C. Archaeological explorations and excavations at this site may push back this antiquity to a still earlier period. It is extremely essential to study the site with the help of a scientific spade. It is situated only 38 or 40 miles from Thānesar and stands on the high road leading from the Gangetic Doāb (via Meerut, Sahāranpur, Ambālā) to the Upper Panjab and commands the passage of the Jumnā river. It was by this route that Mahmūd of Ghaznī returned from his expeditions to Kanauj. Timur too visited this route while returning from his plundering campaign of Haridwār; and Bābar advanced to conquer Delhi by this side (Cunningham, *ibid*, pp. 396-8). For Sugha, also consult S. Beal, *Records of the Western Countries*, I, pp. 186 to 188 and f. notes; Varāhamihira's *Vṛhatsaṃhitā*, XVI. 21 and translation on p. 178 as edited by V. Subrahmanya Śāstrī, 1947, Bangalore City; *CASR.*, II, pp. 228-31; *ibid*, XIV, p. 134; Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, 1924, Calcutta, pp. 395-398; *Dey*, p. 194. The recent excavations at Rūpar also yielded a small ivory seal inscribed with the word *Bhadapalakasa* in the *Brāhmī* script of the Mauryan period [*Indian Archaeology* 1953-4 *A Review*, *op. cit.*, p. 6].

The N. B. P. ware occurs at Panīpat (29° 10′ North Lat and 75° 56′ East Long) higher than the painted Grey Ware; [*Ancient India*, *op. cit.*, X-XI, p. 145]. It also occurs at Sonepat (*ibid*).

the *Mahāmāyūrī*; Cf. *Sraughnaḥ* of Pāṇini (*India*, p. 431). Srughna was of course an important town in ancient days.

It has not yet been possible to study the early coins[26] from Thānesar or the neighbouring region of Kurukṣetra. Archaeological excavations in this area may help us in throwing some light on the early history of the locality. Following are some of the towns of the Ambālā Division as known to Pāṇini:—

(i) Kapisthala[27] (VIII, 3. 91) is modern Kaithal in the Karnāl district.

(ii) Śoṇaprastha is modern Sonepat (28°59′ N. Lat., 70° 1′ E. Lon).

(iii) Roṇī[28] (iv. 2. 78) is probably Roḍi in Hissar district.

(iv) Tauṣāyaṇa[29] (*Pakṣādigaṇa*, IV. 2. 80) is modern Ṭohānā, a place of historical and archaeological interest in Fatahbad tahsil of district Hissar.

(v) Śairīṣaka[30] (IV, 2. 80) is modern Sirsā, a sub-divisional headquarter in Hissar district.

(vi) Yugandhara[31] (i.e. Jagādharī, District Ambala).

(vii) Srughna (see fn. 21 above).

(viii) Kalakūṭa (IV. 1. 173) was probably modern Kalka in the Simla Hills (*India*, p. 54)

(ix) Gauḍapura (vi. 2. 100) is probably *Gauḍa-grāma* or Gurgaon in the south-east Panjab [*JUPHS*., XVI (i), p.42].

The Bharatas have been mentioned as an *āyudhajīvī saṅgha* by Pāṇini. Dr. Agrawala (*India*, p. 451) thinks that "it must be some old tradition, otherwise Pāṇini locates them in the Kuru region on the border land of the Udīcya and Prācya divisions of India. According to another *sūtra*, the Kurus lived under a regal form of government. It seems these Bharatas lived round about Kurukṣetra as a *saṅgha* in Pāṇini's time."

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[26] D. B. Spooner (*ASR*, 1921-2, p. 47) states that very ancient coins are said to have been found at Amīn (5 miles from Kurukṣetra) but no record of these coins is traceable. Amin is situated at 29°54′ North Lat. and 76°52′ East Long. The Painted Grey Ware has been found here too [*Ancient India*, X-XI. p. 138].

[27] *India*, pp. 71, 65, Cf. *Report*, pp. 19-30; Dey, p. 92.

[28] *Ibid*, p. 71.

[29] *Ibid*, p. 72; *JUPHS*, XVI (i), p. 49.

[30] *India*, p. 72. It is situated on the north side of the dry bed of the river Ghaggar, having considerable ancient ruins and has also been referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (*JUPHS*, XVI (i), pp. 50-1; Dey, p. 181—referring to Vinaśana *tirtha* near Sirsā; Cf. *ibid*, p. 256; *JUPHS*, XVI (i), p. 49.

[31] Cf. Yugandhari of the *Mahābhārata*.

V. *Post Mauryan Coins and Seals*

Dr. Birbal Sahni happened to publish some Śuṅga antiquities from the Khokrākoṭa mound at Rohtak. They include a square terracotta seal (ordinary) and a round sealing baked in clay. Birbal Sahni[32] has given the following description of this important find:—

Size:—24 × 24 m.m.

Obv. There is an inscription from left to right—

(1) *bhadra mitra*

(2) *sya droṇīghā* (*ṭe*)

in the *Brāhmī* characters.

Rev.:—Smooth and convex and it shows two perforations (indicated by arrows) where the string was probably attached to fix the sealing to an article, possibly a document sent to Rohtak.

Mr. Sahni quotes K. P. Jayaswal according to whom the owner of the sealing was "the Officer-in-charge of the pass over the *droṇī* (valley; Hindi *dūna*) which must have been in the Śiwālaks, probably identical with Dehrādūn." C. R. Singhal (*Bibliography of Indian Coins*, I, 1250, Bombay, p. 24) cites the remarks of Jayaswal (expressed in *JBORS*., XXIII, p. 148): "Bhadramitra evidently was the Yaudheya Officer-in-charge of the *dūna*; and the second line of the legend would better be read as *droṇīpāla* instead of *droṇīghā* (*ṭe*)."

A hoard of about 136 Yaudheya-coins was recovered from the village Panjya in Jaunsar-Bāwar area of Dehradun district in 1936. It was really interesting to ob erve the utter absence of the early Yaudheya coins in that hoard. On the other hand, the coins furnished by this hoard were closely associated with the Kuṇinda coins both in style and type (*JNSI*., II, p. 109). In these circumstances it appears hardly plausible to consider Bhadramitra of the Rohtak seal as a Yaudheya officer. Future discoveries are awaited to throw some light on the history and lineage of this Bhadramitra.

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[32] *Current Science*, V, Aug. 1936, pp. 81ff. Both are surface finds. Jayaswal has assigned second century B. C. as the probable date of this sealing.

VI. *Agāca Coins*

Coins bearing the legends ***Agodake agāca janapada*** or ***Agodakā agācaja*** etc., were described by Allan (*op. cit.*, 1936, Introduction, pp. clvii-viii) in the uncertain category of the ancient Indian coins. Mr. Allan has also stated that a number of such coins was procured by Rodgers at Barwāllā. Mr. P. L. Gupta has tried to prove[33] that at Agrohā (Hissar) existed a tribe named *Agra* and that *Agāca* is the Prākṛt corruption of Sanskrit *Agreya*. *Agodaka* of the coins is the same as *Agrotaka* as found in an epigraph of 1328 A. C. (*EI.*, I, pp 93 ff.). The site, about 13 miles from Hissar, yielded quite a large number of antiquities including stone fragments, terracottas, large size bricks etc. (*Report*, pp. 41-3)[34].

VII. *A stone ball with ancient symbols*

The excavations at the site of Rāja-Karaṇa-kā-Kilā brought to light a stone ball, weighing about 7 tolās of the Indian weight. D. B. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 49) has furnished the following details of the same:—"There are sketched on it a number of sacred symbols including a pair of fish joined by a piece of string, a ***swastika***, a ***nandi-pada***—similar to the symbol which begins the Khāravela inscription, a rectangle with diagonals, a device consisting of two triangles joined at the apex, a circle, a three pointed star and what appears to be a *swastika* without the fourth arm. The exact purpose of these symbols is unknown". To me it appears that the peculiar ball, under reference, might have been used for weighing purposes at a time when coins having these very symbols were in frequent currency in the Indian markets. It is of course a conjecture and nothing can be said with definiteness at this moment.

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[33] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, IV, pp. 49ff; Cf. C. R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, I, 1950, Bombay, p. 22.

[34] For a detailed account of the excavations at Agrohā, consult H L. Srivastava, *Excavations at Agrohā* (Punjab), *MASI*, No. 61, Delhi, 1952; Cf. *EI*, I, p. 93; L. D. Barnett, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 1940, X, pp. 277-84; *JUPHS*, XVII (i), pp. 19-20.

VIII. *Śuṅga Sculptures and Terracottas*

(a) It is also essential to refer to a *yakṣa* statue from Palwal and illustrated by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XXIV-XXV, p. 188, figure 4. According to Dr. Agrawala (*ibid*), "the statue consists of the head and bust of a colossal *Yakṣa* image of red sandstone. It was found at Palwal in Gurgaon District in 1914 and is now deposited in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (0.107). The figure is wearing on the head a conical turban with tiered folds, big round discs in cloven ear-lobes, a double flat crescent-shaped torque, a flat triangular necklace, armlets with triple vertical projections and four heavy wristlets. The right hand is raised towards the shoulder and holds a conchlike tapering object, now mutilated. There are traces of a scarf looped on right elbow. On the back are shown pendant tassels of the necklace. The style of the turban, the torque and the necklace and the armlets with feathered projections seen in the side view, *all point to the image being an early Yakṣa type that may be assigned to the early Śuṅga period, about second century B. C.* The object in the right hand is unfortunately not very distinct and therefore the identification with Kubera is far from certain".

(b) Some interesting Śuṅga terracottas recovered from the excavations at Rūpar, have been illustrated by Dr. Y. D. Sharma in *Ancient India, op. cit.*, IX, p. 126, plate 50 A & B. They are able to throw a flood of light on the plastic art of the region during the Post-Mauryan period.

(c) About 5 miles to the S. S. E. of Thānesar lies the small village of Amīn,[35] situated on an ancient huge mound measuring about 2000 feet in length (from north to south), 800 feet in width and about 25 to 30 feet in height. This is considered to have been the traditional site of the *Cakra vyūha* where the armies were arranged at the time of the famous battle of Mahābhārata. The name Amīn seems to have been a contraction of Abhimanyu (son of Arjuna)-*kheḍa* (i.e. mound). It was here that two inscribed red stone rectangular pillars were discovered and are said to have been preserved in the Ṭhākurji shrine on the west bank of the tank called Sūraj-*kuṇḍa* (*ASR*., 1921-2, p. 47; 1922-3 *ibid*, plate V.e.) No detailed account of these pillars has so far been furnished by any scholar. "They are carved on all the four sides and have no sockets for crossbars. They would thus appear to have supported some sort of a platform." Besides this, Mr. D. B. Spooner[36] (*ASR*., 1921-2, p. 47) states that the "inscriptions on them are in the characters of the Kuṣāṇa period but are quite short and merely supply the names of their donors". But this dating by Spooner does not tally with the art of the times. In fact the depiction of the dress and the ornaments of the persons, so finely carved on these pillars, appears to have been the work of some Śuṅga artists. Dr. A Coomarswami[37] has also placed these pillars somewhere in the Śuṅga period. Following are the details of these sculptured posts under reference:—

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[35] There exists an ancient temple of Aditi and a Sūrya-*kuṇḍa* here. The ladies, who are desirous of having issues, like to bathe in this *kuṇḍa*. Cf. Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 386; *ASR*, 1922-3, pp. 89-90; *Report*, p. 14; *CASR*, XIV, pp. 97ff.

(i) *Pillar to the left side*:—It depicts a male person (in the *sthānaka mudrā*) who wears a typical Śuṅga turban[38] on the head, a necklace of 4 strings round the neck and a *dhotī* covering the lower portion of the body and coming up to the knees. This *dhotī* has been tightened with the help of a *kāyabandha* (waist-cloth). The standing person has caught hold of one of the ends of this *kāyabandha* in his left hand while the other end of it is hanging down below. The right hand is placed towards the right side of the chest and holds a lotus in it. He wears the long *karṇakuṇḍalas* in his ears but he appears bare-footed. From the looks of this person it appears that he is some *Yaksa* pondering over some problem out of great anxiety. The front portions of his arms, being somewhat covered by some cloth, do not depict any ornaments round this portion of his body. Just above the head of this person have been carved two full bloomed lotuses and around all this (i.e. the lotuses and the person) can be seen floral designs, along the rectangular edges of the slab; (cf. *JUPHS*, VI. 2, figure 17, p. 105, fn. where Dr. Agrawala considers the depiction of a *padma-pāṇi Yakṣa* on this pillar).

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[36] He even thinks (*ASR*, 1922-3, p. 90) that these "two sculptured posts, in red stone of the Kuṣāṇa age, must have been imported from Mathurā".

[37] *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, London. p. 32; cf. V. S. Agarwala, *JUPHS*, VI (2), figures 12, 17.

[38] For typical head-dress as depicted in the Śuṅga art of India, consult Dr. Moti Chandra's book *Prācina Bhāratiya Veśa Bhūṣā*, (Hindi), *Saṃvat* 2007, Allahabad, p. 66, figures 35 and 36.

(ii) *Pillar to the right side* : —This piece too is very interesting for it seems to represent some amorous scene. It depicts a male and female standing bare-footed very close to each other. The lady wears the typical head-dress (i.e. a turban) of the Śuṅga times and looks at the male person (standing to her left) with a smiling face. Her left arm, placed round the neck of this person, touches his left shoulder. Similarly the right hand of the latter touches her left shoulder. The lady here wears three necklaces, the beads of which are clearly visible. She also puts on heavy *kuṇḍalas* in her ears. The breasts of the lady appear to be quite heavy. Both these persons are putting on *dhotīs* up to the knees. The ornaments, appearing in the front portion of the hands of the lady, have covered the entire portion from the elbow to the beginning of her palm. This reminds us of the existing fashion[39] of wearing bangles by the Rājasthāni ladies even now in the 20th century A. C. It is much more interesting to find that the lower portion of the legs of the lady (in the above Kurukṣetra panel) has also been covered by the rings which reach her ankles. She wears the *dhotī* in the current *Marāṭhī* style and there appears a girdle on the *dhotī* here; the beads of the girdle are quite visible. Above it has been tied a *kāyabandha* (round the waist), the ends of which are hanging down below. Her left leg has taken a turn behind her right leg and is placed on some object which looks like a stool or *ḍamaru*. Her right arm, stretching down below, is visible on one side. The male person holds a wine cup (in his left hand) which is placed near his chest but towards the left portion of the lady. The former here wears a necklace in the same fashion as put on by the person already cited in the first panel above. Dr. Agrawala (*ibid*, figure 12) is justified in tracing the depiction of *Yakṣa-mithuna* here.

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[39] Of course there are no bangles worn (by the lady of the Kurukṣetra panel under study) on the upper portion of the arm. For similar ornamentation in the Śuṅga period, consult *Prācīna Bhāratiya Veśa Bhūṣā, op. cit.*, figures 51-2 facing p. 73.

IX. *Kuṣāṇa and Pre-Kuṣāṇa Finds*

(a) The excavations on the mound of Rājā-Karṇa-kā-Kilā at Thānesar yielded an Indo-Bactrian silver large coin of Hermaios (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 87). A hemidrachm of Apollodotus and one of Antimachus were also recovered by Rodgers at Jagādharī (*Report*, p. 24). The discovery of a hoard of quite a large number of coins 883 in number) of Menander from Sonepat is of course very interesting (cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1872, p. 159). It is quite possible that this region too fell a prey to the attack of Menander who had penetrated as far as Madhyamikā (modern Nagarī, Chittaur district of Udaipur State) and Sāketa[40] (modern Ayodhyā, U. P.),

(b) The Kuṣāṇas, who ruled North India as far as Mathurā and Banaras, had also subjugated the region of the Ambala division. The Theh Polar[41] site (Karnāl district) yielded some rude imitations of those coins of Vāsudeva which were adopted by the foreign ruling chiefs of the Panjab towards the 3rd or 4th centuries A. C. (*ASR.*, 1930-4, pp. 143 ff). In one trench of the Theh Polar site were also found 2 debased copper coins bearing the figure of a Kuṣāṇa type of king at an altar (*ibid*). Besides this, some other antiquities[42] of this period, reported from Rājā-Karaṇa-[43]-kā-Kilā, include:—

(i) A terracotta sealing having a beautiful Indian bull on one side. This bull faces left. Above this animal appears a line of 5 minute letters "probably in the *Kharoṣṭhī* script" (*ASR*., 1922-3, pp. 87-8). It is regretted that the sealing has not been illustrated by D. B. Spooner[44] in *ASR*., 1922-3 cited just above.

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[40] Cf. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (III, 2. 11) *arunat yavanāḥ sāketam aruṇad yavanāḥ madhyamikām*.

[41] Theh Polar marks the ancient site (at Karnāl) on the south bank of the Sarasvatī river. There is simply a tradition that it was the abode of Muni Paulastya—an ancestor of Rāvaṇa (Cf. *ASR*, 1930-4. p. 143).

[42] *ASR.*, 1922-3, pp. 87-8.

[43] It is about 500 square feet at the top, 800 feet square at the base with a height of 30-40 feet. Cf. *ASR*, 1921-2, p. 48; *CASR*, II, p. 220. There is a large stepwell here of the Muslim period.

(ii) Mr. Spooner (*ibid*) also refers to the large size bricks from the same place as belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. They measure 14 to 14½ inches in length, 9 to 9½ inches in breadth and 2½ to 3 inches in thickness.

(iii) A terracotta votive-tank has been recovered in a broken condition but it depicts sufficient details bearing close similarity to similar finds from Taxila, Ahicchatra, Kauśāmbi[45] etc. The corners of the Kurukṣetra votive-tank depicts one musician elevated on a platform; while the other is playing on a pair of cymbols while two others are playing on a flute and a tabor respectively. The fourth musician is a female and the musical instrument held in her hand cannot be determined with certainty (*ASR*., 1921-22, p. 48). Another terracotta votive dish was found in a fragmentary condition (*ibid*, p. 49).

(c) A fragmentary stone inscription (in the *Kharoṣṭhī* script), now preserved in the Lahore Museum, is said to have been recovered from Karnāl near Kurukṣetra. Dr. Sten Konow[46] has furnished the following reading of the same:—

Sidhi kri (*śa*) *vi* (*na*) *u* (*—putreṇa*)
lapotreṇa ae puka (*riṇi karavita*).

It refers to the construction of a pond (Skt. *puṣkariṇī*) by Kṛśakavi, the identification of Kṛśakavi being obscure.

(d) The region of Būriā, Sugha and Jagādharī has yielded several Kuṇinda coins of king Amoghabhūti who is said to have been a chieftain of the famous Kuṇinda tribe (*Report*, p. 24) in the erly

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[44] It will be really interesting if the Deptt. of Archaeology in India brings it to light at an early date.

[45] During the excavations at Kauśāmbi in years 1949 and 1950, I was able to recover several pieces of this type from the Scytho-Parthian levels which appeared just below the surface near the ancient site marked by the famous Aśokan pillar at Kosam: consult *Ancient India*, *op. cit.*, IV pp. 125 ff. and plates for the votive tanks and their distribution in India.

[46] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II (i), Calcutta, 1929, p. 179.

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centuries of the Christian Era. Similar coins have also been procured at Karnāl in the Kurukṣetra region (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, p. 85; (cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, London, 1936, p. ciii of the *introduction*)

(e) It was more than 75 years ago that Rodgers procured a unique coin from Rūpar (district Ambala) which bore the same legend in *Brāhmī* on one side and in *Kharoṣṭhī* on the other. Rodgers read the legend as *rājā ajamitra* on both the sides (*Report*, p. 38). He also states that there was the figure of an elephant on the obverse of it and of a man or woman on the reverse. Mr. Rodgers is of the opinion that "this coin is not at all like the *mitra* coins", found in abundance in the Uttara Pradeśa. It is regretted that the coin has not been illustrated by Mr. Rodgers. The existing coin of course adds one more name to the list of the rulers who issued a currency having the legend in *Brāhmī* on one side and in *Kharoṣṭhī* on the other. It is just possible that Ajamitra was some local ruler whose regime could not have lasted long. Perhaps he had issued his coinage imitating the coins of the Kuṇindas.[47]

(f) The ancient site of Rohtak also yielded a coin-mould which, according to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, was perhaps used to cast some coin of Huviṣka—the great Kuṣāṇa chief (*JNSI.*, XV i, pp. 68-9).

(g) Rodgers procured some coins of Gondophares and Amoghabhūti at Naraingarh (dist. Ambala; *Report*, p. 28). Describing the copper issues of the foreigners, he states that they bear a king's head and some Greek letters on the obverse, while the figure of Pallas and some *Kharoṣṭhī* letters appear on the reverse. These coins, according to Rodgers, weighed 30 grains.

(h) Cunningham (*CASR.*, p. 78) obtained 3 coins at Kapālamocana (Śiwālak hills) and one of these was "a small silver piece of the Indo-Sassanian type, with the letter *ma* between the two attendants at the fire altar". The remaining two copper coins were of Sāmantadeva. Rodgers procured a hemidrachm of Strato (helmeted king) and several coins of Menander in the bazars of Sāḍhaurā (Ambālā). He was informed by the local people that these coins had come from

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[47] As is evident from the bilingual legend of these coins.

Kapālamocana, a place already referred to above (Rodgers, *Report*, p. 25).

(i) Two *Audumbara* coins and one coin of the Indo-Parthian ruler Soter Megas are some of the noteworthy antiquities from Rūpar [*March of India*, VI (3), pp. 12-16].

(j) Whitehead found a special type of the coins of Soter Megas in Delhi and Jagādharī and that variety was pobably current in what is now called the S. E. Panjab [R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue* of *Coins in the Panjab Museum Lahore*, I, p. 162 fn. 1].

(k) The discovery of some more Kuṇinda coins from Karnāl (*JASB*, XLIV, *p. 82*; *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1875, p. 85) is also to be noted.

(l) It was from the ancient site of Rāja-Karṇa-Kā-Kilā that a rare large round copper coin[48] was excavated by Dayā Rām Sāhnī about 25 years ago (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 87). It is regretted that it has not been published by Spooner in *ASR.*, 1922-23. The well defined incuse here appears to be similar to that on the well known Pañcāla series of coins. The name (on the Kurukṣetra coin) has been engraved in two lines and has been read thus:—*rajño Yajñajitasya*. The name of this *Yajñajita* is not available from any other source. According to Mr. Spooner, the script of the legend of this coin is of the second or third century A.C. Probably he was some local chief who might have risen to power for a little while, perhaps after Kuṣāṇa Vāsudeva II. He can also be placed somewhere in the period that followed the disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa regime towards the beginning of the third century A.C. In this connection it is essential to survey the political conditions of the East Panjab, Mathurā and Rājasthān before the beginning of the fourth century A.C.

On the basis of the early coin types of the Yaudheyas, it can be safely said that Kārtikeya was their *iṣṭadevatā*. Mr. P. L. Gupta[49] states that in the second and the first century B.C., they occupied the Hariyāṇā (Skt. *Bahudhānyaka*) portion of the Panjab comprising

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[48] Cf. also S. N. Chakrabortty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, 1931, Calcutta, p. 207.

[49] *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, p. 171.

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Rohtak, Hissar, Sirsā, Karnāl and Gurgaon; and also the adjoining portion of the desert of modern Mārwār[50].

The Kuṣāṇa power was at its glory in the time of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. That is why the Yaudheyas, a tribe closely associated with Rohītaka[51] (modern Rohtak, Ambala Division), were not in a position to raise its head in revolt against the foreign yoke.[52] It was somewhere in the middle of the second century A.C., that they revolted against the foreigners but were soon checked by Rudradāman—the famous Śaka Mahākṣatrap. In the opinion of Dr. A. S. Altekar[53], "the Yaudheyas made a second bid for independence towards the end of the second century A.D., came out successful in their venture and succeeded in freeing their homeland and ousting the Kuṣāṇas beyond the Sutlej. The coins of Kaniṣka III (180-210 A.D.) and Vāsudeva (210-240 A.D.) are not found to the east of the Sutlej; it is thus clear that they had lost all cis-Sutlej territories. On the other hand, the post-Kuṣāṇa coins of the Yaudheyas having legends in the characters of the third or fourth century A.D., are found in large hoards between Sutlej and the Jumnā, the homeland of the Yaudheyas, in the districts of Sahāranpur, Dehrādūn, Delhi, Rohtak, Ludhiana and Kangra". Yaudheya coins were also found at Abohar, Sirsā, Hānsi, Pānipat, Sonepat etc., and Rodgers (MSS. notes in Deptt. of coins, as cited by

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[50] But no Yaudheya coin has so far been discovered in Mārwār at least. It is not possible to agree with the views of Mr. Gupta put forth on pp. 172-3 of the paper cited above.

[51] The *Yaśastilaka* of Somadeva presents a vivid view of the Yaudheya country (Vol. I, Bombay, 1901, pp. 12-22 as edited by Paṇḍit Śivadatta). The *Mahābhārata* refers to Rohītaka as the capital of the *Bahudhānyaka* country. It was dear to Skanda-Kārtikeya, rich in cows and grains, and the people inhabiting the place were called the *Mattamayūrakas* (*Sabhā Parva*, XXXII. 4-5). For the antiquities from Rohtak, consult *Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1881, pp. 70-2; *Current Science*, IV, 1936, pp. 796 ; *ibid*, V, Aug. 1936, pp. 81 ff; *JBORS*, XXII, pp. 51-62.

[52] At this time they were living somewere in the north-east Rājapurānā. For the coins of the Yaudheyas from Rohtak, consult Birbal Sahni, *Technique of Casting of Coins in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1945, pp. 4-32; *JBORS*; 1936 XXII, pp. 51-62.

[53] *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, 1946, Lahore, p. 29; Cf. *ibid*, p. 21 for the independence of the E. Panjab from the foreign yoke in the beginning of the 3rd century A.C,

Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cli) also obtained some 4th century A.C. coins (class 6) at Hānsī and Kharkaundah near Sonepat. The evidence of the coin finds shows that the Yaudheyas occupied an area which may be roughly described as the Eastern Panjab (Allan, p. cli). Very recently, a unique Yaudheya copper coin was picked up from the top of the mound at Baghaulā in the district Gurgaon. It is a cast coin belonging to the second class of the Yaudheya series of coins [*JNSI.*, XIII (i), pp. 101-2 as discussed by O. Prufer].

It now appears that the foreigners were perhaps no longer ruling in the Ambala Division towards the beginning of the third century A.C. (Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 21). It is also very likely that certain local ruler named Yajñajita (whose coin has just been cited above), after the fall of the Kuṣāṇas, gained power and issued coins in his own name for a short while. Perhaps the growing power of the Yaudheya tribe proved fatal to his existence.

R. B. Whitehead (*Numismatic Supplement*, 97, p. 1911) has described 21 coins found near Rūpar in the Ambālā district. "These coins are of mixed metal and weigh 190 grains. On the obverse there is a human figure copied from the Kuṣāṇa coins and the reverse bears a crude figure of an animal and some symbols. As these coins were accompanied by some copper coins of the White Hun Chiefs (Toramāṇa and Mihirakula), these are supposed to belong to about 5th century A.D." (C. R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, I, 1950, Bombay, p. 106).

Some earlier and later coins from the recent excavations at Rūpar have been illustrated in *Indian Archaeology 1953-4—A Review*, New Delhi, 1954, plate V.c.

(m) *Important Yaudheya Coins:*—The Yaudheya coin hoards from the following places of the region of Kurukṣetra are to be noted with great interest:—

(i) Sonepat[54] Hoard.

(ii) Karnāl[55] Hoard of 232 copper coins included the large variety of Yaudheya coins; showing a male deity holding a spear in the right hand and the left hand resting on the hip (Cf. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta*, I, plate XXI). Some coins of Kuṣāṇa Vāsudeva too were recovered from this very hoard.

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[54] Allan; *op. cit.*, p. cli; Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Alexander Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1891, p. 76 and *Geography of Ancient India*, London, 1871, p. 245.

[55] *ASR.*, 1230-4, pp. 143 ff. These coins were recovered as a result of the excavations at the site called Theh-Polar.

X. *Gupta Terracottas and Antiquities*:—

(i) The region of Kurukṣetra has also yielded some very interesting Gupta terracottas which need to be described in detail[56] here.—

(A) Cunningham (*CASR*., XIV, pp. 97 ff., plate XXVII lower half) excavated the broken part of a terracotta-plaque at the Asthipura site of Thānesar. On this plaque have been depicted two persons fighting with each other; their pose being very natural and charming. The upper portion of their bodies is quite naked while a *dhotī*-like object appears to have covered the lower portion. The folds of the drapery are of course quite visible. Besides this, there can also be seen a knot tied up (just below the naval portion) while one end of it is hanging down between the thighs. The man, to the left hand side, has caught hold of the arm of the other person. The latter wears a necklace, a fact which is quite unusual for the wrestlers at work. Usually the wrestlers do not put on such necklace as has been depicted in this plaque. Equally amazing is to note the long hair of one wrestler (to the left) and the curly hair of the other. The expression of pain on the face of the curly-haired[57] person is very well executed. It was probably a masterpiece of the Gandhāra art.

(B) Equally important is another terracotta plaque (from Peheoā[58], ancient Pṛthūdaka) which has been illustrated in *CASR* (XIV, plate XXVII, upper portion; *ibid*, p. 101). It is in a fairly well preserved condition and depicts some royal person sitting in the *sukhāsana* pose with his right hand placed on the right thigh. It appears that this person is sitting on some throne, the side portions and the back of which seem to have been shown a little here. He wears a full trouser (reaching up to the ankles). A full-sleeves shirt, in the upper portion of the body, covers the whole portion up to the beginning of the palms of the hand. Over this long coat appears a wrapper-like object which covers the upper portion of his arm and then hangs down below so as to cover the thigh portions too. The folds of the drapery here too suggest this plaque as having been executed under the influence of the Gandhāra art. Still more charming are the remaining details of the figure:—

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[56] They had not been described in detail by Cunningham who simply made a passing reference to these important relics. Similarly A. Coomaraswamy assigned them to an early age i.e. the Gupta period (cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit*., p. 87).

[57] The Gupta terracottas and sculptures depict the frequent use of curly hair; cf. *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Hindi, Banaras, *saṃvat* 1997, pp. 215-16 and plates.

[58] Spooner (*ASR*., 1921-2, p. 47) simply states that Cunningham obtained some excellent terracotta-reliefs at Peheoā.

(a) A round *tilaka* mark on the forehead.

(b) A crown (studded with circular jewels) on the head appears like the headdress worn by the court-judges.

(c) A fine jewelled garland appearing, not round the neck, but on the shoulders. It hangs on the chest so as to cover the naval portion altogether.

The left hand of the figure is completely broken; the eyes are open and there appear moustaches on the face. It is very interesting to note that the collar of the full-sleeves coat (cited above) is round in shape.

(C) The mound known by the name of Rājā-Karaṇa-kā-Kilā (at Thānesar) also yielded some terracotta figurines and a small mould (height 2 inches and width 2 inches) which was perhaps used for preparing metal images of goddess Śrī. It is regretted that the back half of this mould has not been discovered. The remaining portion of course depicts the goddess seated on a full blown lotus and holding a flower in her right hand. Besides this, a male figure (height 3 3/4 inches; in a well preserved condition) has been depicted without clothing, "perhaps portrayed in the act of dancing" (Spooner, *ASR*, 1921-2, p. 48). Another terracotta relief (2¾ × 2½ inches) representing the lower half portion of a man and a woman (standing side by side) is also to be noted. The woman here is occupying the left portion as usual and both of them wear long-clothes. It is not yet possible to determine the theme of this relief (Cf. *ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 48).

(i) Dr. R. C. Majumdar[59] has put forth a view that the East Panjab was perhaps included in the empire of Samudra Gupta. In his own words, "in the west it extended up to the Panjab, probably included its eastern districts between Lahore and Karnāl. From the last named (i.e. Karnāl) the boundary followed the Jumna river up to its junction with the Chambal..." M. S. Vatsa (*ASR.*, 1926-7, p. 233 plate XXIII f.) describes a rare gold coin of Samudra Gupta of the Battle Axe Type found along with 86 gold coins discovered at Mithathal in the Hissār district in 1915-16. Out of these[60] coins, 33 were of Samudra Gupta while the remaining were issued by the later Kuṣāṇa rulers of the Panjab (Cf. C. R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, Bombay, I, p. 83). The discovery of this hoard (of gold coins) from the south-east Panjab is very important indeed. It is too early now to think that the armies of Samudra Gupta had penetrated as far as the Hissār district. The last king to be represented in this hoard is Samudra Gupta. The presence of only gold coins in the hoard suggests that the fellow who deposited the hoard was undoubtedly some wealthy person. He might have expired prematurely and so could get no time to take the coins out or to disclose the secret of their being hidden underneath the earth.

(ii) It was during his explorations and archaeological tour in the Panjab that Mr. Rodgers happened to acquire a gold coin of Samudra Gupta at Jagādharī (*Report*, p. 24)

(iii) It is equally interesting to note the famous Tushām[61] (Hissār) inscription carved in the huge rock in the characters of the Gupta period (J. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 269-70, plate XL facing p. 270). It throws a flood of light on the religious history of the place in the fourth century A. C. It contains a reference to the construction of a reservoir and a house for the use of god Viṣṇu by one *ācārya* Somatrāta, the great grandson of *Ārya Sātvata Yogācārya Yaśastrāta.* In the words of Dr. J. N. Banerjee (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, 1945, XIII, p. 56), "the wheel engraved about a foot below the last line of the inscription is evidently connected with it and is the wheel of Viṣṇu and not a Buddhist *dharmacakra* or a mere sun-symbol as Fleet has suggested".

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[59] *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, 1946, Lahore, p. 144 and *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954, p. 9.

[60] Out of this lot, 26 pieces were melted and only 69 coins could be recovered and deposited in the Lahore Museum.

[61] It was discovered by A. Cunningham and has been referred to in *CASR.*, XXIII, 1887, Calcutta, pp. 22 ff, plate XXVIII. Tushām is about 16

(v) During his explorations in the Panjab, Cunningham was able to notice a stone inscription (on the walls of a Sikh Temple) at Kapālamocana in the Ambala district (*CASR.*, XIV, p. 77, plate XXV). This epigraph of two lines has been attributed to the Gupta period and furnishes the date as "when 165 years had elapsed in the month of Māgha". In case we take it to be dated in the Gupta Era, the date of the epigraph will come to 484 A. C. (i.e. 165+319). Some ornamental stones were also found by Cunningham here and they too have been assigned, by him to the same period.

(vi) A brass mask[62], inscribed in the characters of the 5th century A. C., is said to have been discovered in the temple of Laṭuśriya-Mahādeva at Rūpar (distt. Ambala). The small inscription of two lines has been read as:—

Śrī kuvilasya mitrā vasuputrasya devadharma.

XII. *Some interesting Seals*:—

The ancient site of Theh Polar (Karnāl) yielded some terracotta and copper seals and sealing too[63]. They resemble in technique,

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miles to the south of Hissār (*CASR.*, V, pp. 137-40. Fleet *CII.*, III, pp. 269-70).

[62] *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments of N. Circle, for year ending 1911*, pp. 18-19, Appendix D.

[63] *ASR.*, 1930-34, pt. I, pp. 143 ff. plate LXXXII.

style, emblems and language with the coin-moulds found at Sunet[64] (near Ludhiānā) and described by Dr. Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1884, LIII, pp. 138-9.

(A) Some of the emblems on the Theh Polar seals are the human-[65]feet, *triśūla*, *cakra*, *padma*, bull, fire altar etc., and they are undoubtedly Brahmanical in nature. The bull, facing left, on one seal (*ASR.*, 1930-4, plate LXXXII, h) resembles that on the Yaudheya coins and coin-moulds from Rohtak. The name on the other seal, bearing an inscription "......*bhadra*......" (*ibid*, plate LXXXII, k) needs to be compared with that of Bhadramitra from Rohtak and published by B. Sahni in *Current Science*, 1936, V, pp. 81 ff. The third seal depicts the fire altar and an inscription *śri raja ma* (*ha*) *ta*.

(B) Of the copper seals found at Theh Polar, one bears a trident above the inscription[66] reversed and counterstruck. The latter is to be read (from right to left) as: —*Sammukhe kāśiśvarasya*[67] (*ibid*, plate LXXXII, I) in the characters of the later Gupta period. The other copper seal furnishes only *kāśiśvara* as the legend on it (*ibid*, plate LXXXII, g). The existence of the trident of course refers to its being purely Śaivite in nature.

XIII. *Later Gupta period* :—

(A) D. B. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 90) describes a stone slab (from Amīn) bearing a four armed seated figure of Gaṇapati with Śiva and his consort Pārvatī seated to his proper left. In Spooner's opinion, this sculpture was probably carved in the later-Gupta period. Besides this, there is not much of interesting material pertaining to the age preceding the accession of Harṣavardhana (seventh century

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[64] *India*, p. 72; *CASR.*, XIV, p. 65; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, IV, pp. 47-8. The ancient name of the place was Sunetra (*Pāṇini*, Saṅkalādi *gaṇa*). For coin-moulds from Sunet, consult Birbal Sahni, *Technique of Casting Coins, op. cit.*, pp. 32-7).

[65] Representing the feet of Lord Buddha or Mahāvīra or Viṣṇu.

[66] i.e. The trident is carved in the upper portion of the circular seal while the letters are in the lower portion.

[67] The discovery of such seals here is very interesting in fact. H. L. Srivastava (*ASR.*, 1930-4, pt. I, pp. 143 ff) dates one of these copper seals towards the 5th or 6th century A.C.

A. D.). It was from Sirsā (Hissār) that certain early mediaeval inscriptions were recovered long ago (*EI.*, XXI, pp. 293 ff.) and one epigraph of about the 5 or 6th century A. C. was also brought to light. The latter inscription refers to the valour of a certain ruler whose name and identity cannot be made out from the inscription.

(B) *Puṣpabhūtis of Thānesar*: —

The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa and the Sonepat Copper-Seal of Harṣavardhana (*CII.*, III, p. 231-2) have also furnished the genealogy of the House of the Puṣpabhūtis of Thānesar. The first three rulers of this house (i.e. Naravarman, Rājyavardhan I and Ādityavardhan) were simply *Mahārājas*. It was Prabhākaravardhan (father of Harṣavardhan) who has been styled as *Mahārājādhirāja* for the first time. As he died shortly before Harṣa's accession to the imperial throne of Thānesar in 606 A. C., Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*The Classical Age*, 1954, Bombay, p. 97) is justified to place the commencement of Prabhākara's rule somewhere about 580 A. C. It would appear from all the contemporary sources, literary as well as archaeological, that the kingdom of Thānesar did not reach the pinnacle of glory till the last quarter of the 6th century A. C. The earlier history of the region of course remains shrouded in mystery. According to Dr. Majumdar (*op. cit.*, p. 97), "the first three kings, who flourished probably between 500-580 A. D., might have been feudatory chiefs, acknowledging the supremacy either of the Hūṇas, or of the Guptas, or both, at different times. It is also very likely that the Maukharis exercised supremacy over them for they did not claim the rank of the *Mahārajādhirāja* immediately after the fall of the Guptas and the Huṇas. It may be surmised that the dynasty really came into prominence after the death of Īśānavarman, and Ādityavardhan's marriage with a princess of the later-Gupta family probably marks a definite step in their rise to power and prominence. However all this is a mere speculation and no definite opinion is possible till more positive evidence is available".

The *Harṣacarita* refers to some poetical epithets[68] of Prabhākaravardhan of Thānesar, who was "a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of the Gurjara king, a fever to that scent elephant—the lord of Gandhāra, destroyer of the skill of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper which is the goddess of fortune (or sovereignty) of the Mālava". This much we know, about the Hūṇas, that just before his death, Prabhākaravardhan had despatched a military expedition to check the Hūṇa menace somewhere in the Uttarāpatha. His eldest son, Rājyavardhan was the leader of this expedition. Dr. Majumdar (*op. cit.*, p. 98) tries to locate the Hūṇa kingdom in the Northern Pañjāb. No sooner did Rājyavardhan proceed with his military operations, than the news of his father's illness reached him and he had to return to Thānesar immediately. In the meantime his father expired and his mother (Yaśomatī) burnt herself to death on the bank of the sacred river Sarasvatī which flowed near Thānesar. In fact the credit of the expansion of the Thānesar kingdom in the Northern India goes to Harṣavardhan. It is regretted that Yuan Chawang, who visited Thānesar in the 7th century A.C. and narrated a good deal about the social, religious and economic conditions of Thānesar,[69] failed to refer to the house of Puṣpabhūtis of the place.[70] Bāṇabhaṭṭa[71] has presented a very graphic view of the *Sthāṇvīśvara Janapada* which formed a part of the Śrīkaṇṭha country. We also learn from a later work, the *Ārya Mañjuśrī*[72]*-mūlakapla*, that Sthāṇīśvara formed a part of Śrīkaṇṭha and that the rulers of the place were Vaiśya by caste.

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[68] *The Classical Age*, *op. cit.*, p. 97; cf. *Harṣacarita Eka Sānskṛitika Adhyayana* (Hindi), Patna, 1953, p. 63. For the coins of the Maukharis and the rulers of the Thānesar line, consult R. Burn, *JRAS*, London, 1906, pp. 453 ff.

[69] i.e. *Sa t'a ni shi fa lo* of Yuan Chwang. Consult S. Beal, *Record of the Buddhist World*, I, pp. 183-6 for a detailed account of the place as presented by this Chinese traveller.

[70] From Thānesar Y. Chwang went to *Kiu-hoen-cha* after traversing a distance of about 100 *li* or $16\frac{2}{3}$ miles. The latter has been identified with modern Gunāṇa between Vyāsasthalī and Nisaṅga, about 17 miles S. S. W. of Thānesar. It was from the Gokaṇṭha monastery at Gunān that the Chinese pilgrim started his further journey to *Su-lu-kin*, i.e. modern Sugha as cited above (Cf. Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, 1924, p. 395).

[71] *Harṣacarita* (text only) as edited by P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1918, pp. 43 ff. For translation consult the English edition of E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, 1897, London, pp. 79 ff. Cf. also *Harṣacarita Eka Sānskṛitika Adhyayana*, *op. cit.*, p. 56).

[72] As edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, 1925, Chapter III, p. 626.

XIV. *Thānesar region in Post-Harṣa Period*: —

(i) The glory of Kurukṣetra perhaps faded with the transfer of the capital seat to Kanauj in the very life time of Harṣavardhan. The Khalīmpur copper plate informs us that the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla (770-810 A.C.) had installed the king of Kanauj in the presence of the various rulers of the Panjab including the petty chief of the Kuru country. These rulers have been described (in verse 12 here) as having bowed down before him respectfully with their diadems trembling. It will not be too much to deduce that the sway of Dharmpāla had perhaps penetrated as far as East[73] Panjab including the kingdom of Kīra (modern Kāṅgrā).

(ii) The influence of the Pālas could not have lasted for a longer period for it was rather impossible for them to control the N. W. borders of the county. It appears that the region came under the Pratihāras (of Kanauj) who were considerably powerful, just on the border of Delhi and the E. Panjab. The undated *praśasti*, recovered from Peheoā (ancient Prithūdaka, about 16 miles from Thānesar), throws considerable light on the history of the region in the times of the Pratihāra emperor named Mahendrapāla (893-90 A.C.)[74]. The verses (6-19) of this inscription are able to furnish the geneaology of the rulers (of a local Tomara family) "who were apparently the feudatories of officials of the Pratihāra emperors. This inscription seems to show that these Tomaras were settled in the Karnāl area and were in the employ of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla. We may perhaps be allowed to guess that the members of the Jāula's family were resident of the area formerly known as the Delhi division of the

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[73] It is not possible to say whether Gandhāra (W. Panjab) had also accepted his suzerainty. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, Dacca, 1943, p. 107.

[74] *EI*., I, pp. 242 as edited by Bühler. Mahendrapāla here has been referred to as the paramount ruler.

Panjab.[75] Dr. H. C. Ray also states (*ibid*, p. 1148) that "the Tomaras were settled in the district round Delhi from at least the 9th century A.D. During the reign of Bhoja[76] (836-82 A.D.) and Mahendrapāla (893-97 A.D.) they came into the orbit of the mighty Pratihāra empire. But soon after, about the beginning of the 10th century A.D., as the Pratihāra power began to decline, a section of the tribe probably founded an independent principality round Delhi".

(iii) "...The king of Delhi, who tried to prevent Mahmud of Ghazni's sack of Thānesar[77] in 1041 A.D., was possibly a Tomara. Another occasion when the Tomaras appear to have come into conflict with the Yaminis, was when Majdūd (the brother of Maudid, 1040-9 A.D.), captured Thānesar and was waiting about 1041-2 A.D., at Hānsī for an opportunity to attack Delhi" (Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1149).

(iv) Two years later, Mahīpāla (the *rājā* of Delhi) recaptured 'without difficulty' Hānsī, Thānesar and Kāṅgrā, inflaming the zeal of his troops by exhibiting to them at the temple in the last named fortress, a replica of the famous idol carried away by Mahmud now believed to have returned by a miracle to its former shrine[78].

(v) But after the final battle that ensued between Mohammed-bin-Sam and Pṛthvīrāja, the forts of Sarsutī, Hānsī,

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[75] H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 1936, Calcutta, pp. 1147-8.

[76] The discovery of the Delhi fragmentary inscription of Bhoja from the Pāṇḍava-kā-kilā is also very interesting (Cf. *ibid*, p. 1148, f.n. 2). A 9th century stone inscription found at Sirsā (Hissar; *EI*., XXI. p. 295) supplies the name Śrī Bhoja Deva without any royal honorifics. It is of course not possible to identify him with Bhoja Pratihāra with definiteness.

[77] For an account of M. Ghazni's attack on Thānesar as given by Firishta, consult H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, London, II, 1869, pp. 452 ff; H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1088, f.n. 3. Al-Utbi also referred to this event; consult Elliot, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 40-1; cf. *CASR*., XIV, pp. 94-5; C. V. Vaidya, *Downfall of Hidu India*, 1933, Bombay, pp. 67-8.

[78] Woolsey Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, III, 1928, Cambridge, p. 32.

Samāna and Kohrām submitted to the Muslim conquerors in A. H. 588 (=1192 A. C.)[79].

(vi) Later on, Thānesar was invaded and bitterly sacked in the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.[80] Cunningham (*CASR.*, XIV, p. 96) has severely condemned this move of the Lodi emperor in the following words:—"Here we have the Mohammedan doctrines of the propagation of religion and plunder of the infidels, or God and Mammon joined together in the most naked and unblushing way".

(vii) After the fall of the Lodīs, the city of Thānesar appears to have remained undisturbed up to the time of Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor. The *Tabqāti-Akbarī* presents a vivid account of the great assemblage of the pilgrims on the banks of the sacred lake at Kurukṣetra.[81]

(viii) It was in the time of Aurangzeb, the great fanatic, that the shrine of Kurukṣetra is said to have been razed to the ground under the royal orders. This champion of Islam "built a castle on the island in the lake called Mughalpur from which soldiers could fire upon any venturesome pilgrim who came to bathe there" (*CASR.*, XIV, p. 96).

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(*To be continued*)

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[79] *CASR.*, XIX, pp. 94-5.

[80] Consult Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, 1872, pp. 439-40 for the detailed account of the events at Thānesar.

[81] Elliot, *op. cit.*, V, 1873, p. 318. This account needs to be compared with that furnished by Alberuni some centuries earlier (E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, 1910, London, p. 145). Abu Rihān, on the authority of Varāhamihira, refers to the bath at Kurukṣetra during the eclipses (Reinaud, *Memoire sur l' Inde*, p. 187—as cited by Cunningham in *Geography of An. India*,

On some recent Interpretations of the Mahābhārata Theories of Kingship*

Among the recent interpretations of the *Mahābhārata* theories of kingship the most original is that of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, 3rd. ed., pp. 82-85). Quoting the *Mahābhārata* texts (XII 59 & 67) on the origin of kingship along with a text (II 3.1.10) of the Jaina *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, he takes their versions to convey a "derision" by "the political writers of Hindu India" of "the idealistic constitution" styled "the non-ruler" (*arājaka*), with "no man-ruler" but with "Law as the ruler", which was "an extreme democracy almost Tolstoian in ideal". "The *Mahābhārata*", it is explained, "says that the framers of this legal State found out their mistake when nobody would obey the law-without-sanction" and then "the citizens of this form of government took to monarchy". Now in the first place Jayaswal's statement that "the technical *arājaka* does not mean anarchy which is reserved for a special term *mātsya-nyāya*" is not supported by the evidence of the texts themselves. This is borne out by the vivid description in the *Mahābhārata* in the same context (XII 67. 3f) of the evils of an *arājaka-rāṣṭra* as well as by the similar description of the *arājaka-janapada* in *Rāmāyaṇa* (II 69 Gauḍīya recension=*ibid* 73 North-West recension=*ibid* 67 Southern recension). It is also supported by the concise but expressive reference to the evils of the *arājaka-loka* in Manu VII 3 introducing his well-known doctrine of the Divine creation of kingship. As regards the reference to the "*arāyāṇi*" (Skt. *arājyāni*) in a list of States in the Jaina canonical text quoted above, it may be conceded that they were "all real and historical forms of government". But the ban imposed in the same passage upon the visit of Jaina monks and nuns to these States is significant of the author's conception of the evils associated with them. The combined evidence of the above passages thus proves *arājaka* to bear the very familiar meaning of a state of wild anarchy without a ruler. The two remarkable accounts in *Mahābhārata* XII 59 and 67 refer only to a passing phase (so out of tune with the author's general conception of the characteristics of this condition) of the State of conception of the characteristics of this condition) of the State of

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* Based upon a paper read by the author at the Calcutta session of the Indian History Cougress, December 31, 1955.

Nature as conceived by the theorist in his historical reconstruction of the origin of kingship. When Jayaswal takes both the accounts "to relate to the same theory", namely, that of "a State" based on "the mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens", he ignores a number of important points In truth the first account (*ibid* 59) refers to a social organisation (but not "a State" ruled by a political superior) based on the voluntary agreement of the individuals, thus furnishing a parallel to one type of the Western theories of Social Contract. The second account (*ibid* 67) refers to a State of Nature in which the individuals are governed by a high moral principle, namely, their sense of righteousness. In the parallel conception of the State of Nature in the thought of Grotius, Pufendorf and Locke the individuals are governed by an intellectual principle in the shape of 'the dictates of right reason'. There is no warrant in the above or any other texts for Jayaswal's conception of "a glorious but well-nigh impossible constitution" founded and worked by unknown "Hindu Mazzinis and Hindu Tolstois".

Let us now turn to the most complete and systematic, though not equally convincing, recent interpretation of the ancient Indian theories of kingship, namely, that of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 127-68). We may consider here Bhandarkar's explanation of the *Mahābhārata* theories under this head in their proper sequence.

I. According to Bhandarkar (*ibid* pp. 136-37; 154-55) the account in *Mahābhārata* XII 67 "makes the closest approach" to the theory of Hobbes and in fact is superior to it. This view may be criticised on four principal grounds. Firstly, it has to be pointed out on general grounds that the *Mahābhārata* theory with its disjointed composition and its mythological setting presents the strongest contrast with the Hobbesian theory which stands for a complete philosophical system based on the methods of precise definition and relentless logical deduction. Secondly, the conception of the State of Nature in the *Mahābhārata* theory certainly resembles the Hobbesian idea of the *bellum omnium contra omnes.* But its immediately following phase involving the conception of a social order based upon the voluntary agreement of the individuals has no parallel in Hobbes's thought. Thirdly, Bhandarkar's arguments in support of his conception (evidently for the purpose of bringing the Indian thinker into line with Hobbes)

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that the *Mahābhārata* story refers to a theory of Social Contract, are not convincing. Analysing the *Mahābhārata* narratives of the creation of kingship, he argues that Brahmā "pointed out" Manu when approached by the people for protection, that Manu "refused to be the king when addressed by Brahmā," and that he subsequently became the ruler as a result of the people's "successful negotiations" culminating in the social contract. This interpretation is contradicted at every step by the direct evidence of the text itself. We are there told how Brahmā ordained (did not "point out") (*vyādideśa* in the original) Manu for the task of protection of the people, how Manu expressed his reluctance (not "refusal") to accept the burden for fear of the difficulty of governing men specially because they are sinful (his words in the original are *vibhemi karmaṇaḥ pāpādrājyam hi bhṛśaduṣkaram/ viśeṣato manuṣyeṣu mithyāvṛtteṣu nityadā//* and how he ultimately agreed in return for the people's assurance of their support to undertake their protection (*tamabrūvan prajā mū bhaiḥ vidhāsyāmo dhanam tava...pābyasmān sarvato rājan devānāmiva śatakratuḥ.*) "The contract", Bhandarkar further argues, "is not one-sided, for Manu agrees to give and actually gave protection in lieu of the tenth part of the grain and the fiftieth part of the merchandise promised by them," and further, because Manu had after all to perform the duty of protection "as a stipulation of the contract on his side". Now apart from the fact that the text is completely silent about the fiftieth part of the merchandise, the terms of the agreement, while charging the individuals with a number of burdens, are silent about the king's reciprocal duty of protection which appears from the context to have already been imposed upon the king by his Divine ordination. Referring to the terms of the agreement Bhandarkar further says that the individuals thereby transferred their "liberty" to a single individual, namely, the sovereign. What they actually undertook upon themselves was the payment of the king's dues and gift (in advance) of a large share of their good *karma* with exemption from all share in their evil *karma*. There is thus no warrant for Bhandarkar's somewhat confused statements that *Mahābhārata* XII 67 refers to the theory of the "social contract" or "governmental compact" following upon the "social compact" by which individuals had lived in peace and goodwill for sometime. Incidentally we may mention the inconsistency of Bhandarkar's successive statements (*ibid* p. 153) that the

European theory of social contract contains three essential factors, namely, the State of Nature, the Social Compact and, the Governmental Compact, and that all these three elements are seldom clearly present in any of its versions. Fourthly and lastly, Bhandarkar's case for the superiority of Bhīṣma's theory to that of Hobbes rests on the argument that while Hobbes held absolute power to have been "irrevocably transferred to the ruler" by means of "the governmental compact" (*sic*), "the king was still the servant of the people" according to the Hindu political theories. Now in so far as the reference to Hobbes is concerned it is not correct to state that the transfer of absolute power to the sovereign through the social contract is held to be "irrevocable". For Hobbes (*Leviathan*, Chap. 21) mentions no less than four distinct occasions when the subjects are, broadly speaking, absolved from their duty of obedience to the sovereign. In so far as the Indian theory is concerned it is a fact that the references to the taxes as the king's wages as well as to the clause of the law requiring the king to restore stolen property or its value to the owner are found in some form or other in our ancient political literature not merely (as Bhandarkar supposes) down to the third century A.D., the approximate date of the Buddhist Āryadeva, but far down to the Middle Ages. The significance of the former group of references consists in their conception of the king's obligation of protection in return for taxation, thus involving the principle of a quasi-contractual obligation of the king towards his subjects. The extreme development of this principle in the sense that the king was a servant of the people with the taxes as his wages is found only in an isolated text of the above-named Buddhist philosopher Āryadeva and combined curiously enough with the doctrine of the king's authority by Divine ordination in a passage of the *Śukranītisāra*. The latter class of references is simply important as indicating the impact of the complex *Smṛti* principle of the king's obligation upon the branch of public law. What concerns us specially in the present context of comparison between the *Mahābhārata* theory and that of Hobbes is that the former fails altogether to bring the above ideas of the king's obligation in return for taxation and his liability for the restoration of the stolen property into relation with the ideas of the origin of kingship.

II. According to Bhandarkar (*op. cit.* pp. 139-40; 145-46; 156-57) the references in *Mahābhārata* "XII 72" (read 73) and *ibid*

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68 mark two successive stages in the development of the Hindu theories of "the superhuman origin or essence of the king". While in the first extract the king is held to be "a mere abode of the Regents of the Quarters", he is regarded in the second as "a god performing their functions". There seems to be no basis for this distinction. In truth both these extracts appear equally to emphasize the old *Smṛti* principle of the fundamental importance of kingship by drawing a parallel between the king's ruling functions and the attributes of the gods so as to lead to the view of the equivalence of the one to the other.

III. Bhandarkar's statement (*ibid* pp. 150-52; 158-62) that the *Mahābhārata* theory (XII 59) in comparison with that of Manu (VII 3*f*) marks a still further development of the doctrine of divine origin of the king may be accepted as correct. In fact the *Mahābhārata* theory seems to mark the culmination of the ancient Indian theories of the king's Divine creation and consequent divinity. Nevertheless Bhandarkar's comparison and contrast between the contents of the complex *Mahābhārata* theory and its European analogues is not above criticism. Referring to the description of the State of Nature in the former instance, he observes that it "bears a close correspondence to that described by Locke whose dictates of right reason are practically the same as the *dharma* of the Indian theory". This statement ignores the fundamental difference between the two basic conceptions. The *dharma* of the Indian thinker represents a moral and ethical principle, while the dictates of right reason conceived by the European theorist stand for an intellectual and rational principle. In the second place Bhandarkar, quoting a few texts on the Divine Right of kings from the works of the Apostles and the Christian Fathers as well as an address of King James I of England along with an extract from *Mahābhārata* XII 59 and passages from Manu and Nārada, observes that "no school of Hindu Polity or Law, though it may propound the divine origin of kingship, does either acknowledge the king's rule by divine right, or consider his person as divine". This is sought to be justified by reference to the coronation-oath of King Pṛthu following the description of the Divine creation of kingship in the *Mahābhārata* extract, to Manu's reference to the high origin and authority of *daṇḍa* (VII 25*f*) immediately after his celebrated account of the king's origin, and to Nārada's direction to advise or even rebuke the undutiful king immediately before his own account of the subjects, obligation of honouring their ruler irrespectively of his personal qualifications and obeying his orders without reference to their moral justification. We may admit the validity of these arguments without committing ourselves to such a far-fetched conclusion as that "the clearest implication" of Pṛthu's coronation-oath is the immediate dissolution of the divine contract relating to Viṣṇu's pervading the king as soon as the latter breaks his pledge. A graver objection against Bhandarkar's position is that while confining itself to the particular texts he ignores the fundamental differences between the Indian and the European theories. Of the four component elements of the advanced Western theory of Divine Right as analysed for instance by J. N. Figgis (*The Divine Right of Kings*, 2nd. ed., pp. 5-6) only one, namely, that monarchy is a divinely ordained institution, is shared by it with its Indian counterpart. By contrast the king in the Indian theory, so far from being accountable to God alone, is held in the authoritative *Smṛtis* to be subject to the law of his order with the rules of the State-law governing his rights and duties in respect of his subjects and with the inexorable law of *karma* keeping him true to his obligations. Secondly, so far from accepting the doctrine of absolute non-resistance Manu (IX 320-21) and Bhīṣma (Mahābhārata, XII 79. 19-33; 93. 9; XIII 61. 3-13) justify by reasoned argument the Brāhmaṇa's resistance against the evil ruler, Bhīṣma going so far as to advocate a total resistance by the Brāhmaṇa and to condone (if not to approve of) active resistance by the people against a tyrant. Thirdly, the Indian thinkers so far from acknowledging the principle of indefeasible hereditary right, imply protection to be the foremost duty of the king as well as his primary title to the obedience of his subjects.

IV. Bhandarkar (*ibid* pp. 164-68) explains the conception of the king's paternal relationship with his subjects such as is found in *Mahābhārata* (XII 57. 3; ibid 139. 102-03), Kauṭilya (II 1; IV 3), Jātakas (Vol. V. p. 223), Aśoka's Pillar Edict IV and Kalinga Rock Edict to be equivalent to the modern "Theory of Force" meaning that "government is the outcome of human aggression". Tracing its history he further observes that it arose at the beginning of the Maurya supremacy "when the kingly power became absolute", and that it presented as such a sharp contrast with the foregoing conception of the king as "a mere servant of the State". These views are open to objection on a number of grounds. Firstly, the idea that the king's authority is founded on force is certainly known to a few *Smṛti* texts (Manu IV 135-36; VII 9, *Mahābhārata* XII 67. 7-11; 68.50 and so forth). But the conception of the king's paternal relationship to his subjects is as a rule completely independent of the same. Ordinarily as we learn from the accompanying explanations in the relevant texts this conception carries with it the idea of the king's benevolent rule and nothing more. Such is the case not only with the texts quoted by Bhandarkar, but also with parallel passages from other works, namely, *Dīgha Nikāya* II p. 178 (describing the four attributes of the World-ruler Mahāsudassana), Manu VII 80 and Yājñavalkya I 334 (enjoining upon the king benevolent rule towards his subjects) as well as *Raghuvaṁśam* I 24; XIV 24 and *Śakuntalā*, Act V (describing the characteristics of good kings). Only in Kauṭilya II 1 this conception is presented before us in its double aspect, namely, the beneficent and the authoritarian. In the second place, Bhandarkar's conception of a sharp contrast between the pre-Maurya and the Maurya periods in the history of development of our ancient political ideas is not justified by the verdict of history. For not only does the thought of Manu and Bhīṣma indicate continuance of the old *Smṛiti* principle of the king's obligation of protection in return for taxation (the extreme development of this principle in the sense that the king is a servant of the people with the taxes as his wages being known according to Bhandarkar's own admission to the late *Catuhśataka* and the still later *Śukranītisāra*), but Manu's and Bhīṣma's doctrine of the king's Divine creation involves merely a development of the old *Smṛti* idea of Divine ordination of the Kṣatriya for the purpose of protection.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Studies on Basarh Sealings I

Vesāli or Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis, a clan immortalised by Buddha and Samudragupta, is now represented by the arable lands and mounds of the village Basarh, in the Hazipur sub-division of the Muzaffarpur district, Bihar State. This city is full of *caityas* such as Capala, Sattambaka, Udena, Gotamaka, Bahuputta, Sāraṇdaṇḍa. According to Pali commentaries, the city of Ambāpāli was also a stronghold of the Jains. At the time of Buddha it was a populous and wealthy city defended by three concentric walls at a distance of one *gavyuta*, surrounded by forests which extended up to the Himalayas from the outskirts of the city[1]. There were also Nāgas resident at Vaiśālī, who were called *Vesala* in Pali literature.[2] Two seasons' excavations first carried out by Th. Bloch in 1903-04 and the second by Brainard Spooner, in 1913-14, though they failed to reach such lower levels, that is earlier periods of occupation, have furnished evidence of the social, religious, economic and political organisations of the Licchavi country in the Gupta age. These are clay pieces stamped with seals, in fact sealings. The two deceased scholars recognized the nature of the finds, as no less than 33 duplicates of the same seal were found. A less happy description has been resorted to by other scholars at Nalanda, Rajgir, Rajghat etc.

Seals are one of the most valuable gifts of antiquity, since *homo-sapiens* emerged from the barter stage. They are common to all prehistoric and historic civilisations such as Pre-Dynastic Egypt, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Elamite and Harappa. In Indian archaeology their importance was first realised by J.F.Fleet.[3] From the palaeographical point of view too, the data supplied by these sealings are not negligible. Bloch correctly observed that they have a homogeneity, inasmuch as they almost always use eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet.[4] Buhler recognized only three varieties in the north Indian scripts belonging to 4th or 5th centuries A.C.[5] In the light of fresh discoveries R. D. Banerji was compelled to divide the Gupta alphabet into four classes. Unfortunately, however, the deceased scholar, himself a pupil of Bloch, forgot to include these sealings in his discussions.[6] The importance of the devices of the sealings to some extent were explained by Bloch and Spooner. These seals and sealings make themselves a valuable source of cultural history of the epoch to which they belong. Gupta age was not merely the classical period of Indian antiquity, but, also the age of re-organisation and revival. Revival unquestionably pre-supposes at least partial annihilation and decomposition and the preceding ages correctly interpreted prove the justification of the hypothesis. It would be a fallacy to take this glorious age as the culmination of Indian civilisation. No culture can remain virile for any length of time without fresh cultural contacts.[7] The creative impulse gathered volume from the culture complex that had taken place, since the Bactrian Greeks had marched through the passes of the Hindu-Kush and brought about extreme concentration of intellectual and aesthetic activities. The Greek invasion, followed by the Śaka, Pahlava and Kuṣāṇa occupations, had to a great extent, disorganised the social fabric and religious institutions. They had introduced foreign elements in social, cultural and religious organisations. Unstable political conditions had created chaos. Natural laws of origin, growth and decay led to further deteriotation and final extinction or re-organisation and revival. The Guptas were destined to appear at this great psychological moment of our national history. Theirs was an age of synthesis and revival after absorption and assimilation by casting away what was old, third-rate, and redundant.

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[1] *Anguttara Nikāya*, vol, v, p. 134.

[2] G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. ii, pp. 940ff.

[3] *Imperial Gazetteer* vol. ii, p. 29.

[4] *A.R., ASI*, 1903-04, p. 102.

Sri M.B. Sitholey is partially correct in thinking that "History is not merely date of wars and conquests, and assumption of power by this individual and that, but trends and movements, life as it was actually lived, and action that saved such life and contributed to the advancement or retardation of civilisation."[8] Ralph Fox has pointed out very correctly that, "history is always a very subtle process of thinking, more many sided and complicated than average man's idea of it."[9] Trotsky, that great Russian revolutionary, has rightly interpreted the aim and object of historical methodology: "The history of a revolution, like every other history, ought first of all to tell what happened and how. That however is little enough. From the very telling, it ought to become clear, why it happened thus and not otherwise. Events can neither be regarded as a series of adventures, nor strung on the thread of some pre-conceived moral. They must obey their own laws. *The discovery of these laws is the historian's task.*"[10]

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[5] *Indian Palaeography, IA*, vol. pp. 46-47.

[6] *Origin of the Bengali Script*, 1919, pp. 24ff. Actually this book is a treatise on origin of Hindi Script.

[7] Clark Wissler—*Man & Culture.*

These seals and sealings found at Basarh, Bhita, Nalanda, Rajghat etc., are indeed a cultural revelation as they portray the life and times of the Gupta age, both of the rulers and the ruled. They are not merely reliefs in small scale or miniature paintings on clay, but specimens of the brilliant glyptic art of India, whose antiquity now goes back to the palmy days of Harappa culture. Being masterpieces of design, artistic skill, they impart a dignity and integrity to the icono-plastic art of India. They not only unfold before us a new chapter of the Indian plastic activity, but the panoroma of its commercial and official practices, religious beliefs, cults, philosophies and economic conditions. They enable us to garner a mass of evidence about the history of the period. Dr. J. N. Banerji made a suggestion that the devices on the seals were carved with a view to illustrate the name of the owner, but this is not always the case as the sealing of *Nārāyaṇadatta* proves.

SAIVA SEALING

The sealings divide themselves into easily classifiable groups. The first group that we propose to take up are the Śaiva sealings. In this class again, natural divisions that suggest themselves to any investigator is their subdivisions according to motifs which are (1) *Liṅga* (Phallus) the form for the formless; (2) anthropomorphical representation if any; (3) finally his *vāhana* Bull or Nandi or his (4) theriomorphic form Nandikeśvara.

CLASS I

Sealing ($2\frac{1}{4}$" × $1\frac{3}{4}$"). Oval field with a simple thick line as border which due to imperfect impression is not perceptible at places. The whole surface is divided into two unequal segments by a second thick line. Upper half: A *liṅgaṁ* with *yonipaṭṭa* on a *pīṭha* on either side of which is a trident with a battle-axe below. Lower field: Legend *Amṛtakeśvara*.[11]

On the basis of *Matsyapurāṇa* which mentions a *Gubya liṅgaṁ* at Banaras, Bloch assumed that it was the impression of the seal of a temple. But there are serious objections to this identification, because it does not mention the name Banaras. Wherever seals of any religious institution have been found, be it Jain, Hindu or Buddhist, the place-name is invariably mentioned. Dr. J. N. Banerji pointed out that it was also the name of a mountain.[12] Bloch himself had admitted that according to the *List of Archaeological Remains in the Province of Assam*, No. 40, there is a temple of that name even now. We have no information whether a temple of that name ever existed in Banaras at all. The probable inference would be that it was the name of an individual. The sealing of *Yajñasoma* has also the same case-ending, therefore it is not grammatically incorrect. Nevertheless we have to note that the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, chap. 39, verse 6 mentions a *tirtha* called Amṛtakeśvara (Baṅgavāsī ed. p. 394).

CLASS II

The sealings bearing the figure of Bull, the *Vāhana* of Śiva, can be conveniently divided into several varieties. This sub-division is far from imaginary and its typological importance becomes clarified when we have to consider the sealing of the Kṣatrapa princess Prabhudāmā.

VARIETY A.—BULL SITTING TO LEFT.

(1) Almost circular sealing $\frac{3}{8}$'' in diameter. Found by Spooner in 1913-14 with Bull couchant to left. Legend below: —*Yajñasoma*.[13]

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[11] *A.R., ASI*, 1903-4, p, 110, No. 30, Pl. XL, fig. 2.

[12] *Development of Hindu Iconography*. p. 196.

[13] *AR, ASI*, 1913-14, p. 125. Nos. 9 & 398, pls. xlvi-xlvii.

[8] *INSI.*, vol. x, pp. 122-23.

[9] Ralph Fox, *Communism in a changing world*. Allahabad.

[10] Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, vol. i, Introduction.

(3) Sealing without legend with Bull couchant to left only.[14]

Sealing with circular impression $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter. Upper half:—A conch above a Bull couchant to left. Lower half:—Legend in characters of C. 300-400 A. C. *Rudradevasya.*[15] A conch is an emblem of Viṣṇu, while Bull represents Śiva. It possibly represents Harihara aspect of Śiva.[16]

(4) Oval sealing with oval impression ($\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$). Upper segment:—Bull sitting to left, but its hind part seems to be on a higher level than the forepart. Lower segment:—Obliterated legend partly deciphered by Spooner as……*tramitrasya.*[17]

(5) Oval sealing with a large ellipsoid impression ($1\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$). It is not divided by any line. On the top we have a humped bull sitting to left, below faint legend read by Spooner as *Bhadrarakṣitasya*[18]

(6) The sealings numbered 239, 397 and 453 are of one and the same person. Of these 239, has neither been described nor illustrated. 397 is a damaged sealing containing a bad oval impression showing a humped Bull to left on top with the legend below read as *Rudrarakṣitasya.* The same is the case with 453.[18]

(7) An oval sealing with a finely modelled Bull sitting to left within an oval field $\frac{7}{8}'' \times \frac{5}{8}''$. Below a thick line dividing the field into two unequal segments; legend: *Kaṇasa-sya.*[19]

(8) This sealing has no legend but only a Bull sitting to left on a pedestal.[20]

(9) As above and very indistinct[21].

(10) A sealing with oval field ($1'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$), on top we have a bull sitting to left. Below, legend: *Buṭasya.*[22]

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[14] *Ibid*, p. 125, No. 63, pl. xlvi.

[15] *Ibid*, p. 129, pl. XLVI, No, 84.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 131, No. 142, pl. xlvi.

[17] *Ibid*, p. 135, No. 227, pl. xlvi.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43, pl. xlvii.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 144, No. 527, pl. xlix.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 146, No, 559, pl. xlix.

[21] *Ibid.*, No. 735, pl. l.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 152, No. 759, pl. l.

(11) A sealing with oval impression (measuring $1'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$). On top we have the figure of a Bull reclining to left. Below legend *Dāsaka-sya.*[23]

(12) Sealing with ellipsoid impression (measuring $\frac{7}{8}'' \times \frac{5}{8}''$) containing a very small figure of Bull sitting to left with legend below reading *Karnidāsa-sya* (?).[24]

(13) An oval sealing with an ellipsoid field containing a very fine specimen of glyptic art of the Gupta period ($\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{8}{4}''$). Divided into two segments by a thick line. Upper half:—Bull reclining to left. Lower half: *Mahadaṇḍa-nāyaka Agnigupta-sya*[25]

Variety B.—Bull standing to left.

1. Oval sealing with a pointed oval impression ($1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$). Altogether 5 specimens of the same seal were found by Bloch. At the centre there seem to be two thick parallel lines with an incuse between them which Bloch took to be a pedestal, dividing the oval area into two. Upper part:—A bull with a prominent dewlap and hump standing to left. Lower Part:—*Nārāyaṇadatta-visa.*[26]

Variety C.—Bull statant facing front.

In this group come four sealings of a very distinctive type and definite school of die-cutters' art, which can be picked out amongst thousands. The technique, the method of representation, the accentuation of the contours, the deliberate aim to show the anatomical peculiarities realistically, even the species of spirited animals are totally different from the seemingly dumb creatures we have so long been dealing with.

(1) The first of these is the round sealing with circular impression similiar to the seals of the officials of the Gupta government. In the centre stands a Bull with legs apart facing front with a sphere(?) between the horns. Unlike other sealings significantly the legend is around the edge (as in W. Kṣatrapa coins), in characters similiar to

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23 *Ibid.*, p. 153, No. 769, pl. l.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 153, No. 810, pl. l.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 1903-04, pl. xli, No. 16, list no. 17, p. 109.

26 *Ibid.*, pl. xlii, fig. 41, p. 117, no. 95.

those found on the W. Kṣatrapa coins, which read:—*Rajño-Mahākṣatrap-sya Svāmī-Rudrasiṁha-sya duhitu, Rajño Mahākṣatrapa-sya Svāmī Rudrasena-sya bhaginyā Mahādevyā Prabhudāmāya.*[27]

(2) An oval sealing (1¼ x ½″) with almost an ellipsoid field, with Bull standing facing front, on a pedestal, prominent dewlap and hump, with a sphere (?) between the horns. Below legend *Dhruvaṇasya.*[28]

(3) An oval sealing with ellipsoid field bearing the impression of a sealing with a Bull standing facing front, on a pedestal with raised sides. A sphere between the horns (?). Below legend read by Spooner's assistant as *Nandaḥ*; actually however *sa* is quite clear only due to damage the *ya* of *sya* has probably disappeared. It should be read as *Nanda (sya)*[29]

(4) Oval sealing with ellipsoid field (1⅛″ x ⅝″). In the centre is a large fine Bull standing facing front, with a sphere (?) between the horns, the tail is prominent. The feet are spread apart. Near the head of the bull is a crescent like object.[30]

These sealings are of significant interest. The sphere, if it be so, indicates that it was a Mithraic Bull. The characters of the legend and the name as well as the pedigree of the queen, suggest western Kṣatrapa connections. Dr. Spooner drew our attention to the suggested Persian influence of Mithra worship on seal No. 44 of Bhita. Dr. J. N. Banerji takes it to be due to Sassanian influence. Dr. D. C. Sircar has suggested that Prabhudāmā was a daughter of Rudrasiṁha I (C. 81-89 A.C.) and sister of Rudrasena I (199-223 A.C.). The alleged Sassanian influence and suggested identification of the queen's relations are antagonistic in dates. Because, Ardashir I, founder of the Sassanian dynasty, ruled from C.224-41 A.C.; therefore, the alleged Sassanian influence could not have migrated to India so early. It would be *quid pro quo* however to consider it as Mithraic influence emanating from its safe *cul de sac* in Iran.

[27] *AR., ASI.*, 1913-14, p. 136, pl. XLVII, Nos. 248, 347.

[28] *Ibid.*, No. 684, pl. L, p. 150

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 185, pl. L. No. 685

[30] *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pl. XIX; Fig. 44, 1913-14, No. 798, p. 153, pl, I.

The main mistake in my opinion however has been to consider the sphere being between the horns, because, it seems to be the top of the hump of a Bull shown between the horns. It has undoubted analogy with certain Andhra and Western Kṣatrapa coins. None of these have again this sphere between the horns.

The first of these coins to be taken into consideration is the series of uninscribed and of uncertain attribution belonging to western India. The material is lead. These coins have:—

Obverse. Bull standing to left, above *Svastikā*.

Reverse. Ujjain symbol, surmounted by *Nandipāda*.

There is no sphere between the horns.[31] The lead coins of square fabric have three varieties in both of which on the obverse we find a Bull standing to right but with no sphere.[32] In the coins of Sadakana Kaḷalaya - Mahārathi we have the Bulls standing to left but no sphere.[33]

On the coins of Kṣatrapa Svāmī Jayadaman son of Chaṣṭana, we have the humped bull to right facing trident with battle axe etc., but no sphere.[34]

On the coins of Mahākṣatrapa Jīvadaman son of Damajadasa, we have humped Bull but no sphere.[35] The same is the case with the issue of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha son of Rudradaman;[36] followed by the issue of square copper coins without name or date.[37] Svāmī Rudrasena III son of Rudradaman II also issued the same type.[38]

The type of Bull represented on the sealing of queen Prabhudāmā is not at all like those occurring on the sealing no. 684 or 798 of Basarh found by Spooner in 1913-1914. The Bull here has the appearance of a stuffed dummy like that of seal no. H 44 of Bhita. The object between the horns on this seal is in all probability the hump. This type of Bulls are found represented on the Kṣatrapa square copper coins issued without name or date. It is quite possible that these sealings were made when this Kṣatrapa princess sent a letter to Vaiśalī. In fact, both Basarh and Bhita show considerable influence of Western Kṣatrapa coin types.[39]

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[31] Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras*, etc., pp. 54-56, No. 217, pl. viii,

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 55-56, Nos. 220-32, pl. viii.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 57-58, Nos. 233-34, pl. viii.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 76, Nos. 265-268, pl. x.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 85, Nos. 293-94, pl. xi.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 93, No. 324, pl. xi.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 94, Nos. 326-27, pl. xii.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 187, No. 889-91, pl. xvii.

CLASS III

The third class of Śaiva sealings have symbols on them. We are indebted to Dr. J. N. Banerji for their correct interpretation. This is a circular sealing with a circular field, measuring 1½″ in diameter, which is divided into two segments by a thick cornice like projection. Above from left to right we have (1) a long necked water bottle, (2) a leaf shaped spear, (3) a phallus, (4) trident with battle-axe; followed by (5) *Kalasa*.[40] Legend below: *Aramikeśvara*-sya, which I take to be a personal name.[41]

Finally comes an oval seal with concave impress (1″ x ½″). The whole field is taken up with a 'Battle-axe' with a long handle laid lengthwise on the seal. The legend is illegible according to my notes. Trident with battle-axe is found on many seals found at Basarh but battle-axe happens to be an *āyudha* of Śiva. It is this which enabled Śrī S. V. Sohoni to identify the temple occurring on a particular type of Audumbara coins as that of Śiva.[42]

CLASS IV

This class of sealings have an anthropomorphic image. In this particular sealing we have an oval area with a nude human figure—half man and half woman with left hand resting on hip and right in the *Varadāna mudrā*. The representation is evidently that of the *Ardha-nārī-śvara* form of Śiva. The male *membre genre* is found raised which is quite consistent with the texts. The *Matsya-purāṇa*, for example, speaking of this aspect states that the half phallus should be made to point upwards.[43] The legend is *Tripurākṣa-ṣaṣṭhi dattaḥ*. There is an earlier *Ardhanārīśvara* image of the Kuṣāṇa period.[44]

ADRIS BANERJI

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[39] *Cf.* Writer's Coin Devices on Bhita seals, *IHQ*.

[40] *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 197.

[41] *AR., ASI.*, 1913-14, p. 142, No. 369 & 396, plate xlviii

[42] *JNSI.*, vol. iv, pp. 55ff.

[43] Ānandāśramą series, cclx. 7.

[44] *JISOA.*, 1937, p. 124.

On the Origin of the Hindu Drama*

[The Aṅkiya Nāṭ: Its Origin and Nature*]

The Aṅkīyā Nāṭ[24] अङ्कीया नाट of Assam represented by works of Śaṅkaradeva (1449-1568) and his followers, is a type of drama which may be easily mistaken for folk-plays of not very early date. But after a careful examination of its different features, it appears to be the relic of a form of drama which in all probability existed in India in the prehistoric period of this art. The similarity of the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ with the classical Skt. drama, as well as its difference from the same, is remarkable, and a study of these may lead to the view suggested above.

As regards its structure, the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ has the following points of similarity with the Skt. dramas: the Nāndī, the Sūtradhāra and the partial use of Skt. Of these the Nāndī (benediction) is in Skt. and is placed in the beginning of the play, and it is after reciting the same that the Sūtradhāra introduces the play proper. But unlike the Sūtradhāra of a Skt. drama, he speaks mostly vernacular.

The differences of the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ with the Skt. dramas, are that every important speech of a character, is followed by a song, and in all cases a play is to consist of one act only. Directions about the entrance and exit of characters in the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ do not occur in the written text of the plays, unless Sūtradhāra's speech annonucing these are in some cases to be taken as such. Besides this, the Sūtradhāra in the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ unlike his namesake in the Skt. play, remains on the stage throughout the entire performance, and he not only recites the Nāndī and introduces the play, but also explains every new entrance, first in Skt. verse and then in the vernacular, and this method of speaking both Skt. and vernacular side by side (to express the same thing) is used by him also in narrating the progress of the play.

In the theatrical side also the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ shows some similarity with the Skt. dramas. Music, gestures and dance play a considerable part in both these kinds of play. And the accessories mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* under the Āhāryābhinaya are used in the performance of the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ as well.

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* Continued from page 214 (Sept. 1955).

[24] अङ्कीया नाट (*Aṅkiyānāṭ*) ed. by B. K. Barua, Gauhati, 1940.

To elucidate the points discussed above we give at the end of this essay a slightly abridged annotated translation of Śaṅkaradeva's play named *Rāmavijaya* (Rama's triumph).

Occasional Skt. verses in this play which the Sūtradhāra recites and which without his vernacular translation the spectators (using the New Indo-Aryan) cannot generally understand are liable to remain unexplained unless the practice of using such Skt. verses is taken as the relic of an ancient custom which has long outlived its actual significance.

To clarify this point we shall have to digress a little in the field of Vedic studies. We have mentioned before that from the dramatic character of the Saṃvāda hymns for which tradition records no ritual use, Oldenberg thought that they were originally tales in verse and prose mixed together, the speeches of the persons only being in verse while the events connected with the speeches were narrated in prose. But originally, only the verses-portions were committed to memory and handed down, while the prose story was left to be narrated by every reciter in his own words. Now in the dialogue hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, only the verse portions containing conversation have been preserved, while the prose portions have been lost. Oldenberg cited from the ancient literatures numerous parallel cases in support of his theory.

His assumption about the recitation of tales composed in verse and prose mixed together, was supported by Pischel who sought to explain the combination of prose and verse in the Skt. drama as a relic of this early form of literature which thus might serve both epic and dramatic ends. But Oldenberg's theory met with a great deal of opposition from Sylvain Lévi who suggested (in 1890) that the dialogue hymns of the *Ṛgveda* might be a kind of drama.

In this matter he was in a way anticipated (in 1869) by Max Müller who in connection with his version of the *Ṛgveda* (I. 165) conjectured that the dialogues in question were possibly acted by two parties.

This idea was taken up later by J. Hertel and L. von Schroeder who tried to prove that these Saṃvāda hymns are really speeches belonging to some dramatic performances connected with religious cult. "We have only", they say "to supply dramatic action, and the difficulties which these hymns offer to interpretation will disappear. What kind of action has to be supplied can of course only be gathered from dialogues themselves".

Though the theories mentioned above may or may not explain the nature of the Saṃvāda hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, they may well be said to throw some light on the otherwise obscure question of the origin of the ancient Indian drama. Winternitz who has very carefully weighed all these theories, considers these Saṃvāda hymns as "ancient ballads of the ~~some~~ kinds as are found also in the literatures of many other peoples". According to him, "this ancient ballad consists of a narrative and of a dramatic element. The *epic* arose from the narrative and the *drama* from the dramatic elements of the ancient ballad". He further says that ballads of this type, "which treated of one and the same subject were often combined in a cycle. And such cycles of ballads formed nucleus, from which the epic has developed". The theory about the connection of the epic and dramatic poetry seems to receive corroboration from a passage in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* according to which the origin of the *nāṭya* is related to the epic. From all these it may be legitimately surmised that the primitive Indian plays grew up from the recitation of the narrative poetry of epic character.

With the appearance of the actor-dancers to represent the incidents in a story the reciter assumed the character of the Sūtradhāra. In the early times when the Old Indo-Aryan (Skt) was the spoken language, the *Sūtradhāra* not only recited the different parts of the narrative in verse, but he also gave a prose commentary to them, and different characters figuring in the narrative were represented by actors who amplified the narrative mostly by their improvised prose speeches suitable to the occasion.

From such a view it may be permissible to assume that primitive Indian dramas were made up of the following elements:

(a) A narrative in verse was recited in separate instalments by the Sūtradhāra,

(b) and himself following such verses always with a prose explanation.

(c) After each such explanation, appears and speaks a character who might or might not have been mentioned in the narrative.

(d) Speeches in cases mentioned above were in all likelihood in prose and were sometimes followed by songs and dance.

As may be easily assumed, this primitive form of drama naturally underwent a change, when Old Indo-Aryan (Skt.) changed into Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali-Pkt.) and Sūtradhāra of that age for obvious reasons used in his commentary the current language, i.e. Pkt., and so did the other characters who added improvised prose speeches.

This tradition of the use of current language by the Sūtradhāra and the *dramatis personae* by the side of the Skt. verse, giving the skeleton of the narrative on which play was based, seems to have survived in the Aṅkīyā Nāṭ.

It is in the light of this theory that the historical sense of the word 'Sūtradhāra' becomes quite clear. For by reciting and commenting on the significant parts of the Skt. verse-narrative and introducing different characters and their acts, speeches and movements he holds the *thread* (the connecting link) *i.e. sūtraṃ dhārayati* and gives unity to all that may otherwise appear to be quite unconnected with one another.

रामविजय [RĀMA'S TRIUMPH][25]

(*Benediction*)

[26]यन्नामाखिलशोकनाशनं यन्नाम प्रेमास्पदं
पापापारपयोधितारणविधौ यन्नाम पीनः प्लवः ।
यन्नामश्रवणात् पुनाति श्वपचः प्राप्नोति मोक्षं क्षितौ
तं श्रीराममहं वन्दे महेशवरदं सदा ॥

(I always adore with devotion Śrī-Rāma who can grant a boon [even] to Maheśa (Śiva), and whose name kills the sorrow of all the worlds, inspires [supreme] love, serves as a broad boat for carrying [*people*] across the limitless ocean of sin, and on reaching the ears of a Caṇḍāla makes him purified, giving him liberation [even] in this world.)

अपिच— येनाभाजि धनुः शिवस्य सहसा सीता समाश्वासिता
येनाकारि पराभवो भृगुपतेर्वामस्य रामस्य च ।
वैदेह्याः विधिवद् विवाहमकरोत् निर्जित्य यः पार्थिवान्
युष्माकं वितनोत्यु शं स भगवान् श्रीरामचन्द्रश्चिरम् ॥

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[25] This play except the portions in Sanskrit, as shown in the translation, is written in what may be called an archaic Assamese.

[26] Skt. passages were recited by the Sūtradhara though the text does not always mention this fact,

[May the Lord Rāmacandra who broke Śiva's bow, and comforted Sitā at once, conquered the hostile [Paraśu]-rāma the chief of the Bhṛgu clan, and married Sītā duly after conquering the kings, always do you good.]

Song

Victory to Rāma the life of the world, to him I bow down. By singing the merit of his name the sinner attains the highest region. By remembering him one gets across the fire of wordly existence. On breaking down [Śiva's bow] Ajagava, he won the daughter of Janaka, and pierced all the kings [his rival suitors] with his arrows. So says the servant of Kṛṣṇa.

The Benediction ends

Sūtradhāra—Enough. Let me bow to Rāmacandra (*then he addresses the assembly of spectators as follows*).

भोः भोः सामाजिका यूयं शृणुतावहितं बुधाः ।
श्रीरामविजयं नाम नाटकं मोक्षसाधकम् ॥

[On the learned members of the assembly, observe carefully this play called "Rāma's Triumph" for it will bring liberation unto you.]

Song

Victory to the jewel of Raghu's race, to the dispeller of the fear of his servants. Victory again to the destroyer of the torments of his own devotees and of the wicked ways of others etc.

Sūtra — O members of the assembly, O honest gentlemen, now enters the stage the highest god Nārāyaṇa who has incarnated himself as Rāma in Daśaratha's house, for relieving the earth of its [sinful] burden. With supreme delight he will dance his marriage and dalliance with Sītā. Please look at him and listen to his words with attention. First to enter will be Rāma with Lakṣmaṇa. Having this news you are to be on the alert. O comrade, what music do I hear?

Comrade—Friend, it is the drum of gods.

Sūtra— The drum of gods indeed. I see, Rāmacandra is coming now.

प्रवेशमकरोन् कामं रामो राजीवलोचनः ।
समोदरो धनुष्पाणि रूपेणाप्रतिमो भुवि ॥

[(Here) entered indeed the lotus-eyed and the most beautiful Rāma together with his brother, and he carried a bow in his hand.]

Sūtra—O the members of the assembly, here come Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa of whom I spoke.

Song

Here enters Rāma, the great god and the chief of Raghu's race. He is followed by his brother and has a bow and arrow in his hand etc.

Sūtra—Now after this you hear about the entrance of the King Daśaratha.[27]

प्रविवेश महातेजा राजा दशरथस्तदा ।
छत्रचामरसंयुक्तः, धनुष्पाणि नृपोत्तमः ॥

[Then entered the mighty Daśaratha the best of the kings with servants bearing his umbrella and the chowri. He carries a bow and arrows in his hands.]

Song

Now comes Daśaratha the lord of the earth, the chowri is waved by his side and the umbrella is held over his head. He the invincible hero holds the bow and arrows [in his hand], and due to his prowess the hostile kings tremble. He is the father of Rāma the lord of the three worlds and on seeing him all the sins are scared away.

Sūtra — After entering in this manner the king sits down with great pleasure.

शिष्येण साकम् आगत्य विश्वामित्रो महामुनिः ।
आशीर्वादं ददौ तस्मै राज्ञे मन्त्रमुदारयन् ॥

[The great sage Viśvāmitra came with his disciples and gave the King Daśaratha his blessings by reciting [proper] Mantras.]

Sūtra — Kauśika, the prince of sages who comes with his disciples to bless the King Daśaratha, is saying something. Look and listen.

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[27] In the early NIA dramas characters sometimes announce themselves,

Song

The impetuous Kauśika comes on purpose with a garland on his head, and a staff in his hand. With the movements of his hands he sings the praise of Hari, and looks around with trembling eyes. A beautiful Tilaka adorns his forehead, but he looks like Yama the god of death.

Sūtra — After entering in this manner he gives his blessing to the king.

चिरञ्जीव चिरञ्जीव चिरञ्जीव जनाधिप ।
पुत्रपत्नीसमायुक्तो भक्तिमान् भव माधवे ॥

[Long live, long live, long live, O lord of men, Be devoted to Hari along with your son and wife.]

Kauśika – O king Daśaratha. Long live with all your family.

Daśaratha—O the prince of sages, my capital Ayodhya has been sanctified today by the touch of your feet. Your appearance here has given my existence its meaning. O sage, what need of you am I to fulfil? Do command me for it. I truly promise in the midst of this assembly to give you today whatever gift you may ask for.

Kauśika—(*with a sly smile at the words of the king*) O my desire has been fulfilled. (*he blesses the king*) O king, you are the Wish-yielding tree on this earth. A suppliant never goes disappointed from you. But now hear about my prayer. In my hermitage I have started a sacrifice to which the two Rākṣasas Mārīca and Subāhu are doing damage. I shall be happy if you will send along with me the two princes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to protect this sacrifice.

तन्निशम्याभवद् भीतः पपात मूर्छितो भुवि ।
करोति कातरं राजा विघृत्य चरणौ मुनेः ॥

[On hearing this he was afraid and fell down unconscious on the earth, and then implored the sage pitifully by holding his two feet in his hand for being excused.]

Sūtra—The king on hearing the sage's words is overcome with dire anxiety, and is deprived of his consciousness. After getting back his senses, he implores the sage pitifully by holding his feet to be excused.

Daśaratha—O great sage, my sons Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are mere boys. Shall I offer them to the Rākṣasas? What kind of act will this be? Sir, you should better take me to protect your sacrifice.

Kauśika—(*in anger*) O the sinner, the speaker of untruth, would you not then send Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa? (*he trembles in anger and is ready to depart*).

Daśaratha—(*comes forward and holds the sage's feet and says plaintively*).

Song

O sage, have mercy on me; make a gift of my son to me. How can I say "Take my son" ? Seeing you ask for Rāma to fight the Rākṣasas, my heart bleeds. For Rāma is a boy; he does not know anything. Besides deprived of him I cannot continue to live any longer.

Daśaratha—How shall I deliver Rāma to the Rākṣasas? Father, leave Rāma and take me in his stead.

Kauśika—O Daśaratha, you do not know anything about Rāma's character. I know it through my power of Yoga. This Rāma is the Supreme God and an incarnation of Hari. He will deliver the earth from the torment of the Asuras and the Rākṣasas. Knowing all this you need not be anxious for him. So keep your promise and send Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa along with me.

Sūtra—The king on hearing the sage's words became a little pacified, and gave over Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to the sage's charge. Look now, Kauśika is happy to take along with him the two princes.

Song

Kauśika goes away after the success of his mission, and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa follow him, the sage gives them the bow and arrows. You will understand this by seeing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. The sage is anxious to go to his hermitage. On seeing him Tāḍakā obstructs the way.

The Rākṣasī laughs in joy, for she thinks that she has met her food. Kauśika trembles in fear and says, O Rāma, the Rākṣasī will eat me . On hearing this Rāma takes up his bow and sends off an arrow to strike at her heart. Tāḍakā falls down with a roar which terrifies people like a clap of thunder. On seeing this Kauśika shouts in joy "well done", "well done".

जयतु जयतु राम प्रार्थकत्राणहेतो
रघुकुलकमलाले सूर्यवंशस्य देव ।
हरति दूरितराजीं नामसंकीर्तने यः
स्वजनसुतकलत्रैः जीवतु वै चिरायुः ॥

[Victory to Rāma who is the saviour of the suppliant, the joy of the Raghu's race, the god of the solar line. Let the man who scares away the sins by one's repeating his name, live long together with his sons, wife and kinsmen.]

Kauśika—O Rāmacandra the exalted scion of Raghu's race, I bless you to live long with your wife and sons. O Rāmacandra, you are a great benefactor of mine. You have made the completion of my sacrifice possible. I cannot praise your merits enough. What good may I do to you in return. (*after some thinking*) I see, there is a suitable occasion just now. O Rāma, Janaka's daughter is at present going to choose her husband. I have come to know that he who can string the bow of Maheśa will be given that princess in marriage. I shall be glad if that blessed maiden of matchless beauty becomes your wife. Through yogic powers I have come to know that this Sītā during her many former births, practised penance to win you as her husband. Remembering all this, in this birth she is always thinking of you. She is waiting for you with the distressed feeling of a separated lover. I shall now describe that beautiful girl. Listen to it.

Song

How shall I describe the beauty of that maiden, O Rāma. She is like an image made of gold and is matchless in her beauty. A jewelled Tilaka hangs on her forehead, and the curve of her eyebrows charms the three worlds. On seeing her face the moon is ashamed, and the lotus on seeing her eyes enters water (in shame). On watching her beautiful arms the delicate lotus-stalk sinks in watery mud etc.

सीताया रूपलावण्यम् एवं निशम्य राघवः ।
ऋषिमाभाष्य भगवान् जगाम मिथिलां प्रति ॥

[On hearing this about the beauty of Sītā, Rāma spoke to the sage and started for Mithilā]

Sūtra—Hearing at present about Sītā's beauty some change occurs in Rāma's heart. For Sītā he sighs, and speaks to the sage.

Rāma—O great sage, that bow of Maheśa is harder than adamant. How can I have power to put string to it? Still I shall try to obey your command. O dear sage, let us go thither in haste.

Sūtra— After speaking thus, Rāma with his younger brother is going after the sage. Look and listen.

Song

Rāma starts for Mithilā. He is of beautiful complexion
and has lotus-eyes. His brother too goes along with him.
On hearing about the maiden, Murāri is captivated.
He feels an emotion and the heart is bent on love. His
moon-like face expresses love. For the first time passion
takes possession of him. Let Rāma go on and have the
pleasures of love. Let Keśava take off your troubles.

Sūtra— Then after reaching Mithilā, Rāma with his brother enters the royal court. Janaka gets up and seats Rāma, and Lakṣmaṇa with Viśvāmitra in his own seat, and adores the sage.

Janaka—O the best of the sages, your coming has sanctified today my city Mithilā. I am very lucky indeed.

Sūtra— The sage utters blessings on the king.

चिरञ्जीव चिरञ्जीव राजन् सज्जनरञ्जन ।
गजवाजीमहैश्वर्यभार्यात्मजयुतः सदा ॥

[May you long live O king who is the joy of good people, and may you always live long with your wife, sons and horses, elephants and great wealth.]

Kauśika— O great king Janaka, may you always remain happy along with your sons and grandsons. I am greatly pleased with your reception.

Sūtra— O great sage, seeing these two boys of extraordinary beauty, I am highly delighted. I do not know whose sons they are, and whether they are gods or men. On seeing these two my heart is much gladdened.

Sūtra — On hearing this the sage recited the following couplet.

सुतौ दशरथस्यैता आगतौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ।
दुहितुस्तव सीतायाः स्वयंवरदिदृक्षया ॥

[These are Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the sons of Daśaratha. They have come to witness the *svayaṃvara* of your daughter Sīta.]

Kauśika— O great king, do you not know them? They are the sons of your great friend Daśaratha and are my disciples. Their names are Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. They have come here to witness the *svayaṃvara* of your daughter Sītā. After knowing this, you are to collect an assembly and bring down the bow of Maheśa.

Sūtra — Janaka then embraces with great joy Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and speaks.

Janaka— Ah, blessed is the king Daśaratha. How can I speak adequately of the great luck of him, who has such beautiful young men as his sons?

Sūtra — After saying all this the king gets the festivity announced by the repeated blowing of conchshells, and then orders the minister Maṇimantra to summon an assembly.

Janaka— O Maṇimantra, bring together in an assembly all the kings who are suitors for Sītā's hands, and are in their camps.

Sūtra — Hearing this Maṇimantra makes an exit.

निशम्य परमा रामा रामागमनकौतुका ।
सखीं संप्रेषयामास जानकी कणकातीम् ॥

[Hearing this noise which ensued, the beautiful Sītā becomes curious about the coming of Rāma, and sends her friend Kaṇakāvatī to know about the situation.]

Sūtra — Then on hearing the sound of various kinds of drums, conchshells and cymbals announcing a festival, Sītā asks her friend to enquire about all this.

Sītā — O Kaṇakāvatī, why is there a playing of music in the court? Find out at once which king has come. My left limbs are throbbing. What happiness it betokens I do not know.

तस्याः कथा यथाकर्ण्य कौतुकात् कणकावती ।
ययौ राजसभां साध्वी सीतां नत्वातिसत्वरम् ॥

[After hearing her words, Kaṇakāvatī was curious and after bowing to Sītā, went out at once to the royal court.]

Sūtra — After hearing these words of Sītā, Kaṇakāvatī bows to Sītā and starts for the royal court. Look and listen.

Song

The maiden goes out in curiosity for knowing about Rāma. This is Kaṇakāvatī whose gait is majestic. On going to the assembly she sees Rāma as the moon amongst the stars. On seeing his beauty and grace, she is glad at heart, her tears come out in joy and her body and mind become restless in pleasure.

Sūtra — On seeing Rāma's beauty and grace, Kaṇakāvatī becomes astonished, and by turning back to Sītā she bows to her and speaks.

Kaṇakāvatī—O beloved friend, your great good luck has come at last.

Sītā — O great friend, tell me at once what you have seen and heard.

Kaṇakā—O the daughter of Janaka, Rāmacandra, Daśaratha's son, who surpasses millions of Cupids in beauty, has come to witness your *svayaṃvara*. It is for him that you are living this life. Glad to see him, the king Janaka has caused drums to be sounded. O friend, how shall I describe the astonishing beauty of Rāma's person. I cannot finish describing even a single limb of his in course of a century. Still I shall say something. Listen to it.

Song

Hear, O friend, plain words. How can I describe Rāma's beauty? His complexion is deep blue, and he wears a yellow garment. He has an umbrella on his head and his hairs are curled, etc.

Kaṇakāvatī.—O friend, from the auspicious marks of his body, I understand that he is the god Nārāyaṇa. He comes to marry you in his Rāma incarnation. You need not be anxious about this. Your wishes have been fulfilled.

श्रुत्वा सखीमुखाद्रामचन्द्रस्य चरितामृतम् ।
मूर्छिता पतिता सीता सुमहा हर्षधर्षिता ॥

[On hearing about Rāma's character from her friend, Sītā due to exrreme delight, fell in a swoon.]

Sūtra — On hearing the high character of her bridegroom, Sītā became extremely delighted. Look at her who has become overwhelmed with the sentiment of love.

Song

On hearing her groom's character, the maiden has been overwhelmed with delight. Her body and mind are perturbed, and tears have come out, etc.

Sūtra — Now Sītā's friend Kaṇakāvatī and Madana-mantharā take hold of her, and wipe sweats off her body with the ends of their garments, and speak to her words of comfort.

Kaṇakāvatī—O dear friend, he, on thinking over whose feet, you are so long waiting, has at last been brought over here by the providence.

Madanamantharā—O friend, why have you become so perturbed at this time of joy? O girl, be pacified.

Sūtra—On her friend's words Sītā became pacified, and turned aside while she thought about Rāma.

ततो नृपान् यथानीय मणिमन्तो नृपाज्ञया ।
कारयामास महतीं सभामुत्सवशोभिताम् ॥

[Then at the king's command Maṇimantra brought together all the kings, and they met in an assembly, and a festivity started.]

Sūtra—Then Maṇimanta brings together the kings and they meet in an assembly. Look at them and listen.

Song

All the kings hold the bow and arrows. The earth trembles under their feet. They have bow in their arms and the sword in their hands, etc.

सखीभिः साकम् अभ्येतां जानकीं जनकोऽन्वयात् ।
महेशाधनुषं स्कन्धे निधाय शोभितां सभाम् ॥

[Sītā with her friends comes in the decorated assembly and Janaka follows her with the bow of Śiva on his shoulder.]

Sūtra — Then Janaka enters his inner hall, and with Śiva's bow on his shoulder he comes out. And with him comes delighted Sītā who has been dressed up with proper garments and ornaments, and she has a lotus garland in her hand, and her friends come along with her. Look at this and listen.

Song

The maiden Jānakī walks in joy and curiosity. Her friends are all in a sportive mood. They wave the ends of their garments. The maiden is longing the touch of her new bridegroom, and a garland is hanging from her hand. The bells in her jewelled anklets are making sweet sounds, and the maiden goes to her beloved with a majestic gait. On seeing this, the kings are burning in jealousy. So says the servant of Kṛṣṇa.

Sūtra — On seeing the beauty and grace of the princess, the kings are smitten badly with Cupid's arrows. They lose their senses. But on regaining their senses, the kings piteously implore Sītā for her favour.

One king—O my dear, I am sinking in the deep sea of passion. Save my life.

Another king—(*putting his finger in the mouth*) O princess, my heart is smitten by Cupid. Please save me by touching me with your hands.

Another king—(*bitting a straw in his teeth*) O fair lady, Cupid's arrow is piercing my heart. I shall expire. Please save me by the nectar of your sweet words.

Another king—(*mad with passion*) All the queens that are in my palace will serve you as your hand-maids. Please make me your humble slave. Please stand still before me for a while, and save me by your glance.

Sūtra —The kings mad with passion openly make all such unseemly reflections. Seeing them misbehave like this, Sītā's friends Kaṇakāvati, Madanamantharā, Candrāvatī and Sūryaprabhā insult them, and rebuke them. But they do not care for this and still implore the princess Sītā. O men, ye look at the foolish kings overcome with passion. They do not know that Janaka's daughter is the Universal Mother.

जगाद जनको वाक्यं पश्यन्त्वेतद्धनुर्नृपाः ।
इदं सज्यं करोति यः तस्मै सीतां समर्प्पेयम् ॥

[Looking at the bow Janaka said. "He who will string it will be given Sītā in marriage."]

Janaka—O kings, listen, I am speaking the truth. While I was thinking of Sītā's marriage, this bow of Śiva dropped down from the sky, and then came the divine voice, "Sīta will choose as her husband the person who will put string to it. Knowing this to be my promise, you are to make an attempt."

Sūtra —On hearing this, a king named Śatadhanu girds up his loins with great ado, and takes up the bow first of all. But while attempting to put the string to it he falls down on his back. Then Candraketu holds the bow, but while making the attempt he overturns along with the bow. Next the king Purañjaya with great pride takes up the bow, but his strength failing he falls down on it. The king Kumudākṣa next girds up his loins, bites his lips and tries to take up the bow with great effort but failing in his attempt he is vexed.

राममाह मुनिर्वत्स किन्निरोक्ष्येह तिष्ठसि ।
कौशल्यानन्दनोत्तिष्ठ त्वं सज्यं कुरु कार्मुकम् ॥

[The sage said to Rāma, "O boy, why are you looking on, O son of Kauśalyā, get up and put string to this bow."]

Sūtra — O members of the assembly, seeing the very sad plight of the assembled kings the sage speaks to Rāma.

Kauśika—O son of Kauśalyā, why are you looking on, get up and quickly put string to the bow.

Rāma — (*saluting the sage*) O the best sage, I am a boy, and this bow is harder than adamant. How can I have power to put string to it? Still I shall obey your command. I shall not be ashamed in case of a failure, for so many kings have failed to string it. (*Then he girded his waist with his yellow garments*).

Kings — (*laughing at him*) Whose son is he? Will he put us to censure?

Sūtra — Rāmacandra takes hold of the Ajagava bow, and like a flower garland he throws it up to hold it again in hand. Seeing this the kings' faces turn pale.

धृते धनुषि रामेण सीता शङ्कितमानसा ।
अनन्तं कच्छपं पृथ्वीं याचित्वेदं जगाद सा ॥

[Rāma taking up the bow, Sītā with fear in her mind begged the earth and Ananta the snake and the great tortoise to be on their guard.]

Sūtra — O spectators, when Rāma takes up the bow Sītā becomes afraid and anxious.

Sītā — Ah, my bridegroom is of a very tender age. This bow of Maheśa is harder than adamant. Can he put string to this? O my father, what a cruel condition you have made? (*thinking within herself, she addresses the earth*) O mother earth, remain still. O father Ananta, hold the earth firmly on your hood. O great tortoise, carry this vast earth firmly on your back. If through your grace the prince can put string to the bow, this poor self will get her protection. (*so saying Sītā looks on at her bridegroom*)

रामस्तु शङ्कितां सीतां निरीक्ष्य कृपया प्रभुः ।
प्रसह्य सज्यमकरोत् लीलयाजगवं धनुः ॥

[Rāma looking in pity at Śītā put at once the string to the bow without much effort.]

Sūtra— The merciful Rāmacandra seeing at that time the pitiful condition of Sītā, playfully puts string to the bow. This divine personage Rāmacandra smilingly pulls the bow back to his ears, and releases it with a twang. With a great noise it breaks asunder in the middle. Like people at the clap of thunder, the kings are astonished to see the great strength of Rāma. Seeing the bow broken, Sītā is besides herself with joy, and puts her flower-garland round Rāma's neck, and speaks. Look and listen.

Song

The princess smiles in joy, and walks to Rāma and puts the garland round Rāma's neck, and touches his feet in adoration. Rāma holds her up, and she is in his arms.

Sūtra — O spectators, Sītā makes Rāma her husband, on presenting the betel and camphor to him, and becomes joyful. On seeing this, all the kings feel aggrieved, and losing their senses in anger, they take up bows and arrows, and challenge Rāma boastfully.

The kings—O, whose son is this? He is carrying off our bride away Fie on us, the kings.

Sūtra — So saying they make a great noise saying "hold him on, kill him."

श्रुत्वा सीताभवद्भीता भूपालवीर भाषितम् ।
रुरोद वेपथुमता शोचन्ती च पतिं प्रति ॥

[Hearing the violent words of the kings, Sītā feels terrified, and weeps in sorrow for her husband.]

Sūtra— Hearing the frenzied words of the kings, Sītā is overcome with fear. Look and listen how she laments over her husband's plight.

Sītā— Ah my sad fate, my husband is of a very tender age, and his only help is his younger brother. How can he defeat the kings in fight. O cruel fate, why do you strike me like this.

Sūtra— O spectators, look and listen Jānakī's laments.

Song

Her consciousness is indeed gone. She sheds tears. In grief the maiden laments for her beloved. She got this great husband for her good deeds in a past birth, but the crooked fate is going to snatch him from her. For the matchless beloved, her heart is perturbed. Looking at him she breathes hard and repeats the name of Hari.

भीतां सीतां ततो राम निरीक्ष्य कृपया प्रभुः ।
प्राह प्रियां समाश्वास्य मा भैः सीते स्थिते मयि ॥

[Seeing Sītā to take fright, the lord Rāma looked at her in pity, and assured his beloved, telling her, 'O Sītā, do no be afraid as long as I am here.']

Sūtra— Seeing Sītā in great distress (owing to fear) Rāma takes her in arms, and speaks words of comfort.

Rāma— O my dearest, whom are you afraid of? What are these kings before me? They are like so many young deer before a lion. They will soon run away when I shoot my arrows. Just see the fun.

Sūtra— Saying all this Rāma pulls the bow with a twang, and speaks to the kings.

Rāma— O sinful kings, I have won Sītā by breaking up the bow. Why are you turning against me? But you may fight me if you have strength enough.

Sūtra—Hearing Rāma's words, the kings very boastfully twang their bows, and shower arrows on him. Rāma cuts these off, and strikes the kings with arrows, and pierces their hearts. Some of them were struck in the thigh, some in the neck or arms, and some ran away in fear.

निरीक्ष्य साक्षाद्रामस्य विजयं जनको मुदा ।
विवाहे विधिवद् वीरो राघवाय सुतामदात् ॥

[Seeing Rāma's triumph in the fight, the heroic Janaka gladly gave with due ceremony his daughter in marriage to Rāghava.]

Sūtra—Then seeing the great valour of Rāma in the fight, Janaka is very glad in his heart. He sends an envoy to invite Daśaratha to come. The king Daśaratha comes, and seeing the son's valour and his winning of Sītā, he embraces Janaka in delight, and dances in joy. The king makes all preparation for the marriage ceremony. Now when the ceremonial bath is being given to the bridegroom and the bride, Brahman, Indra, Rudra and other gods come to express their joy. Look and listen.

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Song

Raghunātha marries Sītā with joy and all the gods come thither in delight. Śambhu and Brahman sing his praise, and Indra plays on the drum with pleasure, and the heavenly maidens shower flowers on the couple, and every one's wish is fulfilled.

Sūtra—Getting Sītā married with such a pomp and festivity Janaka gives to Rāma as dowry all he could afford to give. And after showing great honour to Daśaratha, he sends the brigdegroom and the bride to Ayodhyā.

ततोऽतिकौतुकी रामः प्रियया सह सीतया ।
ससोदरो मुदा भ्राजन् अयोध्यां प्राययौ पुरोम् ॥

[Then the supremely pleased Rāma, together with his dear Sītā and the brother started joyfully for Ayodhyā.]

Sūtra—Then Rāmacandra with his dear Sītā and the younger brother, goes towards Ayodhyā. O spectators, look and listen.

Song

With pleasure Rāma goes with his bride Sītā. It seems that the lightning has flashed in the blue cloud ; the maiden's gait is majestic, her bangles tinkle sweetly as she goes dancingly, and seeing her groom beside her she is smiling a bashful smile. etc.

तत आगत्य तरसा भार्गवो भ्रुकुटिमुखः ।
स्कन्धे निधाय कठिनं कुठारं राममब्रवीत् ॥

[Then Bhārgava with a frowning face came there at once with a terrible axe on his shoulder and spoke to Rāma.]

Sūtra—With such a festive procession, Rama and Sītā are going to Ayodhyā. But on hearing the crashing noise with which the bow of Śiva broke, Paraśurāma was very angry and came to stand before Rāma with the axe in his shoulder and said, "stand still, stand still."

Paraśurāma—O man, how can you escape after breaking the bow of my guru. Do you not know the story of Paraśurāma? For twentyone times I roamed over the earth, and cut off the heads of Kṣatriyas. The axe has been soiled by their blood.

Ah ! I shall clean it with the blood of your neck (*so saying he challenged Rāma*).

तन्निशम्याभवद् भीतो भयाद्दशरथो नृपः ।
स्कन्धे च वसनं वद्ध्वा भार्गवस्य पदेऽपतत् ॥

[Hearing this the king Daśaratha became terrified, and putting his cloth on his neck fell at Bhārgava's feet.]

Sūtra—Seeing the angry attitude of Paraśurāma, Daśaratha has become very nervous. "This is a disaster, this is a disaster," he said, and putting his cloth round his neck he falls at the feet of Bhārgava, and implores him to have mercy, but Bhārgava is unrelenting.

Daśaratha—O Lord Paraśurama, my son Ramācandra is a boy. Please excuse his faults. From now on he becomes your slave. I beg you to give me my son as a gift, and to spare him. If you do not forgive him, kill me in his stead. (*clasping Rāma*) Ah my son, you have fallen in the hand of death. This will be the last moment of my seeing you (*so saying Daśaratha lamented much*).

विलोक्य भार्गवं भीता सीता वेपितमानसा ।
रुरोद पतिमालिंग्य हा हताऽस्मीतिवादिनी ।

[Seeing Bhārgava, Sītā trembled in fear and putting her arms round her husband, she lamented, "Ah, I am done for, I am done for."]

Sūtra—Then on seeing Parāśurāma who was like the god of death, Sītā trembled in fear.

Sītā—How is my husband full of all virtues and qualities to be taken away today from me? What a mishap the fate has brought.

Song

The maiden laments in dispair seeing as her dear life is departing. For immense virtues of the past I have got my husband who is being taken away by fate. Tears come down from her eyes, and she breathes heavy sighs. The cruel fate spoils everything.

सन्तापं प्रेक्ष्य सीताया भक्ताया भक्तवत्सलः ।
प्रियां प्रोवाच परमां पाणिना मार्जयन् मुखम् ॥

[Seeing the distress of the devoted Sītā, Rāma who is affectionate to his devotees, wiped off Sītā's face with his hands, and spoke to her.]

Sūtra—Seeing the great distress of the devoted Sītā, Rāma wipes off Sītā's face with his own hands, and speaks loving words of comfort.

Rāma—O my dear, are you frightened seeing the boast of this sage who lives in a hermitage? He is indeed no better than a moth before me. Look, I shall at once crush this bragging Brahmin. O my beloved, look in curiosity how I shall humiliate his head.

Daśaratha—(*humbly beseeching Paraśurāma*) O great sage, spare my son please, I fall at your feet.

Paraśurāma—(*biting his lips in anger*) O axe, how art thou quiet now about Daśaratha's son, for thou couldst cut off the neck of my mother Reṇukā. Fie on thee ; fie on me.

Sūtra—So saying he takes up the axe, and looking at Rāma's head he throws up the axe in the air and catches it back. His body trembles in anger.

विश्वामित्रस्तदागत्य भार्गवं प्राह कोपतः ।
अरे द्विजकुलाङ्गार मच्छिष्यं हन्तुमिच्छसि ॥

[Viśvāmitra came there and spoke in anger to Bhārgava.
"O base Brahmin, you like to kill my disciple".]

Kauśika—O wicked Brahmin, Rāmacandra is my best disciple. You are going to kill him. Come with all your strength, and fight with me. I shall crush your pride.

Sūtra—Paraśurāma becomes angry, and holds his staff and Viśvāmitra too does likewise. The staffs of the two break upon striking each other. Then they catch hold of each other's beard. Next they come to fight with their arms. The deer-skin which they wore, slip off during the fight. Paraśurāma was partially an incarnation of Viṣṇu. So Viśvāmitra gets defeated and runs away for life. Paraśurāma again holds his axe up and challenges Rāma.

लक्ष्मणः प्रेक्ष्य तद्दर्पं राममाह सकोपतः ।
आज्ञापय वधे चास्य दुर्जनस्याततायिनः ॥

[Seeing his boast Lakṣmaṇa said to Rāma in anger—
"Order me to kill this wicked enemy."]

Sūtra—Seeing the great boast of the sage, Lakṣmaṇa girds up his waist, and speaks to Rāma.

Lakṣmaṇa—O the lord of Raghus, there can be no sin in killing this wicked enemy. Order me, I will make him leave his life.

Sūtra—So saying, Lakṣmaṇa twangs his bow, and faces Daśaratha, and speaks to him.

Lakṣmaṇa—O father, why are you imploring this sinful killer of Kṣatriyas. Move aside at once. I shall cut off his head.

Rāma—(*smilingly*) O brother, you are a boy, so keep quiet. I shall punish this wicked Brahmin. Look on quietly at the fight.

धनुष्टंकारमकरोत् भार्गवं भीषयन् प्रभुः ।
तिष्ठ तिष्ठेति तं प्राह नयाम्यद्य यमालयम् ॥

[The lord twanged his bow, and terrified Bhārgava, and then he said, "do not run away, do not run away, I will send you to-day to death's door."]

Sūtra—Twanging his bow Śārṅga, Rāmacandra comes before Paraśurāma, and speaks.

Rāma—O the wicked and vile Brahmin, you are priding over the killing of Kṣatriyas. You have sinned by cutting off the head of your mother Reṇukā. And you are trying to terrify me by telling all this. But do not run away. If you have power, remain in front of me. I shall show you the way to death's door.

Sūtra—O spectators, Rāma's twang of the bow strikes terror into Paraśurāma's heart. He begins to tremble in fear. The axe drops from his hands. Look, how he runs away for fear of life.

Song

Raghunātha holds Śārṅga in his hand, and on seeing this the sage's hands and feet tremble in fear. His axe falls down, and his anger goes off. He drops down to make obeisance to Rāma. Save my life, I am your part and bow to you humbly.

Sūtra—Paraśurāma falls at Ramā's feet, and speaks many piteous words.

Paraśurāma—O lord Rāma, you are the supreme God. I am your part. Forgetting this I boasted. Forgive me, O Lord.

(*Seeing the sad plight of Bhārgava Lakṣmaṇa smiles*).

Rāma—(*smilingly*) O Rāma of Bhṛgu's race, my strongest and irrevocable arrow has been made ready to strike you dead. It cannot be held back (*so saying he pulled the string towards his ears*).

Paraśurāma—(*putting his fingers in his mouth*) O lord, you are my god-father. Save my life.

Rāma—(*smilingly*) O Bhṛgu's son, be free from fear. Your life has been spared. But my arrow cannot be in vain. I shall obstruct your heavenly path (*shoots in the sky*).

Paraśurāma—(*embracing Rāma*) O father, through your kindness I am saved today (*he goes back to the hermitage*).

निर्जित्य भार्गवं रामं प्रियया सह राघवः ।
पुरीमयोध्यामाविशत् मातृभिः सम्प्रवेशितः ॥

[Rāma after conquering Bhārgava entered with his dear Sītā the city of Ayodhyā where his mothers welcomed him.]

Sūtra—O spectators, after conquering Bhārgava, Rāma with his dear wife Sītā entered Ayodhyā when Rāma's mother Kauśalyā heard of Rāma's marriage, and triumph over Paraśurāma. She received Rāma and his bride amidst song, music and general festivity. Thus is completed the ceremony of Rāma's marriage.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Matsyendranātha and his Yoginī Cult

I. *The Legend of Matsyendranātha*

Matsyendranātha is a great name in the history of the religious movements of mediaeval India and particularly of Nāthism. But like all other great names of that period, the name of Matsyendranātha is enveloped in mystery. The only solid fact that comes down to us from the mass of anecdotes about him is that he was the *guru* of the great Gorakṣanātha.[1] Except this solitary fact, everything else about Matsyendra appears hazy and uncertain. Even his name is spelt variously as Matsyendra, Macchendra, Macchaghna and Mīna and each of these variants has created a separate problem. That he was somehow concerned with the "catching of fish" is warranted by his name. But what kind of fish he caught and killed —real fish (cf. Kaulajñānanirṇaya) or metaphorical (cf. Tantrāloka) is a matter to be decided by the commentators. The Tibetans have preserved a portrait of Lui-pa i.e. Matsyendra wherein he is depicted as eating the entrails of a fish.[2]

Matsyendranātha was looked upon as "Avalokiteśvara" in Nepal and he is even now worshipped there as "Bhṛṅgapāda".[3] He is Lui-pa in Tibet, one among the 84 *siddhas*. In Kashmir too, he was highly respected as a Śaiva *Ācārya*.[4] He is said to have received instructions directly from Ādinātha = Śiva. The *Haṭhayogadīpikā* remembers him with profound respect as one of the great exponents of Haṭhayoga.[5]

Was Matsyendra originally a Buddhist? Why was he, otherwise, looked upon as Avalokiteśvara? Or was he some great *Ācārya* of Kashmir Śaivism? Why should he have, otherwise, received such homage from Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha? Or was he a

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[1] आदिनाथो गुरुर्यस्य गोरक्षस्य च यो गुरुः ।
मत्स्येन्द्रं तमहं वन्दे महासिद्धं जगद् गुरुम् ॥

[2] Rahul Sankṛtyāyana, "Purātattvanibandhāvalī" (Hindi), p. 144 ka.

[3] S. Levi, *La Nepal*, I. p. 337 (quoted by Dr. P. C. Bagchi) and the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, p. 58.

[4] *Tantrāloka*, I. p. 25.

[5] I. 4. ff हठाविद्या हि गोरक्षमत्स्येन्द्राद्या विजानते ।

Tāntrik? For, Dr. P. C. Bagchi quotes from a MS. '. . . ,ānhikatilaka" from Nepal wherein Matsyendra is described as one among many Tāntrikas of different parts of India. Or was he only a fisherman as the tradition recorded in the Kaulajñānanirṇaya (*KJN*) holds?

According to the *KJN* he was originally a Brahmin by name Viṣṇuśarman (cf. 'Nityānhikatilakam') and he belonged to Candra Dvīpa i.e. Bengal. It is reported that he was born on the day of Gaṇḍānta Yoga and so he was thrown into the sea by his parents. There he was swallowed by a fish. While in the belly of the fish he overheard the secret discussions between Śiva and Gaurī about *Dhyānayoga* and *Jñānayoga*. When Śiva realised this fact, he called him 'Vipra' and named him as Matsyendranātha.[7] The *Bhagavata Purāṇa* mentions eight Vasus and Matsyendra is said to be an incarnation of the first Vasu "Kavi."[8]

It is further reported in the *KJN* that once Bhairava and Bhairavī had been to Candra Dvīpa where Kārttikeya also reached as a disciple and stole away from them the secret *Kulāgama Śāstra*, for he hated it. Kārttikeya threw the stolen *Śāstra* into the sea. Bhairava got it back by catching the fish in his net and breaking open its belly which contained it...Again the same trick was repeated and this time the fish which had swallowed it was too big to be caught in a net. So Bhairava had to abandon the form of a Brahmin and assume that of a fisherman. Thereupon he caught the fish carrying the *Śāstra* within its body. This fisherman was none else than Matsyendra and he was an incarnation of Bhairava-Śiva.[9]

In the Bengali verson of the legend, Matsyendra is identified with Mīnanātha.[10] He, in the form of a fish, learnt the secret of *Dhyānayoga* and *Jñānayoga* while Śiva was disclosing it to Gaurī.[11] But by the curse of Gaurī, he forgot it while in the company of

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6 *KJN.*, Intro. p. 68,

7 *Skanda Purāṇa*, Nāgara Khaṇḍa, 263.

8 Dr. H. P. Dvivedi. *Nātha Sampradāya* (Hindi), p. [illegible]

9 *KJN.*, 16/34-35- अहं सो धीवरो देवि कैवर्तत्वं मया कृतः (म)।

10 The identity of Matsyendra and Mīnanātha is a problem. There are so many contradictory statements about their mutual relations that no opinion can be expressed at this stage.

11 *Nātha Sampradāya*, p. 45.

1600 women of *Strī-rājya*.[12] Gorakṣa, the disciple, released his *guru* from these women by playing the rôle of a dancer.

The stories from the works like *Yogīsampradāyāviṣkṛti*, *Navanāthabhaktisāra*, and *Gorakṣavijaya* make Matsyendra a supernatural personality who fought successful battles against mighty gods. He is also described as entering into householder's life twice: for 12 years in the *Strī-rājjya* and another 12 years in the kingdom of Prayāga as King Trivikrama and in each of these places he got a son.

Thus almost all the accounts of Matsyendranātha agree on the following points:

(i) He, in the form of a fish, received a secret knowledge of Yoga from Śiva and Gaurī.

(ii) This he later on forgot, in the land of women, by the curse of Gaurī.

(iii) He himself was an incarnation of Śiva-Bhairava and had been to Candra Dvīpa with Bhairavī. There he had a secret Kulāgama Śāstra which Kārtikeya tried to throw into water. In order to get it back Bhairava became Matsyendra.

(iv) Gorakṣa did not like his *guru's* long stay in the company of the women of *Strī-rājya* and had to bring him back by resorting to a trick.

From these points we are led to infer that Matsyendra originally cultivated a Yogic form of Śaivism; but later on he got enamoured of a new secret cult which was practised in the company of women. Gorakṣa very much disliked this new cult; he compelled his *guru* to abandon it and brought him back to his original Yogic Śaivism.

II. *Matsyendra's Contribution—Yoginī Kaula*

The *KJN*.[13] is taken to be a genuine work of Matsyendra in which he has revealed a secret knowledge (*Kaula mārga*) which is different from similar *kaula mārgas*. The work mentions a number of other *kaula margas* or secret cults such as Roma-kūpa, Vahni,

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[12] *Nātha Sampradāya*, pp. 48-51.

Strī-rājya=Kadalideśa, Triyādeśa, Siṁhala or Siṁgala according to various readings. But most probably it was situated in Kāmarūpa (KJN).

For the discussions of various points about the life of Matsyendra, see R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, vol. I, pp. 341-5 etc.

[13] Edited by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Calcutta Sanskrit Series No. III.

Pādotthita etc. But the new *kaula* expounded by Matsyendra is called *Yoginī kaula*. This particular cult was revealed by Bhairava in Candra Dvīpa in general and in the Kāmarūpa in particular[14] to Bhairavī: and this Bhairava is none other than Matsyendra himself. Hence, perhaps, it is called as "Matsyodara Kaula" (got from the belly of the fish, i.e. Matsyendra). Because it was practised in the company of women, it was disliked by Kārtikeya who being a Brahmacārin and a purist twice tried to destroy it by submersion into the sea. For the same reason Gorakṣanātha also disliked it and he is well-known for his staunch Yogic Śaivism. It is reported that this peculiar secret knowledge went by the names of *Mahat kaula* and *Siddhāmṛta* in the former ages.[15]

There is evidence to state that the secret Yoginī Kaula of Matsyendra, which he expounded in Kāmarūpa where every woman was a Yoginī,[16] was named after them for in their company he could discover this new cult.

The *KJN*. gives side by side the old and the new cults of Matsyendra. The text of the "Akulavīratantra" (AVT.) given therein agrees on the main points with the tenets of Nāthism as contained in the *Gorakṣasaṁhitā*[17] and may, therefore, be said to represent the original Yogic Śaivism of Matsyendra, while the Yoginī cult as contained in the text of *KJN*. may be said to represent the new secret knowledge attained by him in the midst of the Yoginīs of Kāmarūpa.

(i) *Kaula* is an ancient word occurring, perhaps, in the Buddhist Tāntrik works and means Śakti.[18] In the *AVT*. Matsyendra has propounded a kind of monism where *Kula* is ultimately identified with *Akula* (Śiva): while in the *KJN*. he has sought powers through the agency of the Yoginīs. It is, of course, a different matter that

[14] *Tantrāloka*, p. 24:

भैरव्या भैरवात्प्राप्तं योगं व्याप्य ततः प्रिये ।
तत्सकाशात्तु सिद्धेन मीनाख्येन वरानने ॥

[15] *KJN*., 16. 46-49: कामरूपे महापीठे मच्छन्देन महात्मना । etc.

[16] *KJN*., 22, 10: कामरूपे इदं शास्त्रं योगिनीनां गृहे गृहे ।

[17] *Nātha Sampradāya*, p. 60.

[18] *Saubhāgyabhāskara* (p. 53)—"कुलं शक्तिरिति प्रोक्तमकुलं शिव उच्यते । nd *Kulārṇavatantra* अकुलं शिव इत्युक्तं कुलं शक्तिः प्रकीर्तिता ।

the Yoginīs are located in different parts of the body of a Sādhaka and are connected with the Yogic *nādīs.*

(ii) The *KJN.* speaks of Sahaja as a Cakra (a station in the body—16.10f.) which being reached, mind attains equanimity. But the *AVT.* has discussed the doctrine of Sahaja in detail (A. text 11. 14; B. text 140 etc.). Accordingly by reaching that station, the Yogin becomes free from the chain of causation, from the illusion of the world, and from the external discipline of worship, sacrifice etc. with their concomitant sins and merits (*AVT.* A 33-34; 83-84; B. 48-49.)

(iii) The *KJN.* is more concerned with the rousing of the Śaktis through *mantra* and ritual for the attainment of such powers as 'pāśastobhana' 'nigrahānugraha', 'māraṇa', 'ākṛṣṭi', 'vaśīkaraṇa', 'jarāpaharaṇa', 'anekarupadhāraṇa', 'Yoginīmelana' etc. The *AVT.* on the other hand describes a Yogin as becoming Brahmā, Hari, Rudra etc.—

स्वयं देवि स्वयं देवः स्वयं शिष्यः स्वयं गुरुः ।
स्वयं ध्यानं स्वयं ध्याता स्वयं सर्वेश्वरो गुरुः ॥

(*AVT.*,B.116-118)

The *AVT.* is emphatic in denouncing all external forms of worship.

(iv) The *KJN.* (chap.8) states that there are eight special ways of practising *vidyā* and the first of these is to associate with the circle of Yoginīs. The whole of this secret cult is, therefore, named after Yoginīs. The eight *vidyās* are so many *mantras* to propitiate Yoginīs for the attainment of *siddhis.*

The Yoginīs according to the text are Sahajā, Kulajā and Antyajā conceived both externally and internally. They are sixty-four in number (8.14). Another classification of the Yoginīs is that of Kṣetrajā, Pīṭhajā, Yogajā and Mantrajā based on a different principle. Of these the first two are connected with the holy Pīṭhas.[21] Those propitiated with the Yogic practices are the Yogajā; and the Mantrajā are pleased with the *mantra.* The Mother-goddesses—Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vajrahastā, Yogeśvarī, Aghoreśī—are also included in the list of the Yoginīs. There are others who are door-keepers.

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[19] Cf. the colophons of Paṭalas of the *KJN.*

[20] *KJN.*, 8. 45.

[21] Dr. D. C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas* in *JRASB.*, Letters vol. XIV, No. I. 1948.

The *Yoginī kaula* of Matsyendra also refers to the worship of mystic circles (made up of 4, 8, 12, 64 and more angles, cf. *KJN*. Paṭala 3) at the centre of which there is Śiva, omnipresent, immovable and unqualified. The sixty-four Yoginīs are, most probably, so many angles representing the equal number of manifestations of Śakti embracing Śiva. The circle thus forms a "Lotus" reminding us of the famous Tāntrik Śrīcakra.

Thus the new *Yoginī-kaula mārga* of Matsyendra was different from his old *Akula mārga*. The new cult was a Śākta cult as opposed to the old Yogic Śaivism. It aimed at propitiating the Śaktis through the medium of Yoga as well as by external worship.

III. *Yoginī in Literature and Ritual*

Yoginīs are well-known in Sanskrit literature. They are represented as attendants of Durgā[22] and are as a matter of fact different forms of Durgā which she had assumed while killing the great demons—Śumbha and Niśumbha. The principal Yoginīs are seven or eight but their number is at times raised to sixty-four. The principal seven or eight are called Mātṛs or Mother Goddesses.[23] Their names appear in the Purāṇas and the Mārkaṇḍeya informs us that the Mother Goddesses came into being to suck the blood of the demon Rakta-bīja to death. When Cāmuṇḍā and Kālarātri drank the blood of the demon, the Mothers danced around in a circle.[25]

The stories about Yoginīs, in general, appear in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Vetālapañcaviṁśati*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* etc. From these we come to know that the Yoginīs always move in a group (cakra) ; they visit cemeteries and offer homage to Bhairava; usually a human victim is offerred by them to the god; they are habituated to move in the sky; they appear very sinister in looks but are helpful to mankind; they put on a garland of skulls, carry a bowl of the same material, apply *siddhāñjana*; during their aerial march they are accompanied by a clang of cymbals and bells and a celestial incense trails their path; a halo of light surrounds their person; they possess supernatural powers to the extent of bringing the dead to life. There are groups or parties among them which at times come to blows among themselves.[26] The Yoginīs, Śākinīs and Dākinīs are ususally confused[27] and they are particularly connected with the Dāmara Tantras. But the Tantras classify Yoginīs on different lines.

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[22] कन्याभिः करवालखेटविलसद्धस्ताभिरासेविताम् । From the Dhyāna in the *Saptaśatī*.

[23] ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ।
वाराही च तथेन्द्राणी चामुण्डा सप्त मातरः ॥

[25] For a description of Kālarātri as Yoginī, see *Prabodhacandrodaya* 4. 1.

The names of the sixty-four Yoginīs are given in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, the *Bṛhannāradīya* and even the *Piṭhori-vrata-kathā* contains them. They are also given at the Bheraghat Yoginī Temple. The temples dedicated to Yoginīs have Ganeśa and Śiva invariably accompanying them.

Yoginīs and especially the Mother Goddesses are worshiped at the beginning of every Saṁskāra.[28] They are worshipped as Pīṭhadevatās at the ceremonial worship of Durgā. The MS. of *Yoginīcakrapūjana* mentioned by Aufrecht[29], perhaps, refers to the Yoginīs as Pīṭhadevatās. There is also a Pithorī Vrata popular in Mahārāṣtra. It is performed on the Amāvasyā of the month of Śrāvaṇa. This Vrata is in honour of the sixty-four Yoginīs and can be traced to the post-Vedic period. There is an Atharva Pariśiṣṭa called "Piṣṭarātryāḥ Kalpaḥ" (No. 5) which may have some connection with the Piṭhorī Vrata. The Vrata, as it is, claims its origin in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.[30] It is meant for the safety of children and attainment of prosperity by the favour of the Yoginīs. The story of Videhā, the wife of Śaṅkara, is given as an illustration of the Vrata. She had lost her children and was thereupon driven out of the house by her mother-in-law. It was the Amāvasyā of the month of Śrāvaṇa. The forlorn lady took shelter in a desolate temple of the Yoginīs and surrendered herself to the mercies of the sullen looking goddesses. At about mid-night the goddesses appeared before her and gave her back her children and made her rich and happy.

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[26] *Kathā SS* 14. 4. 24; 37. 110ff; 75. 160 ff etc.; *Vetal PV*. (in KSS) 12. 9. 174; Rājat. II. 100-103. etc.

[27] Cf., The story of Nimbavatī in the Daśakumāra C. (cf. 6). She is called a Śākinī for the same reason for which a woman in KSS (V5. 163) is called Yoginī. The Yoginis are said to use "String method to transform a person into some animal." For details see my paper "Magic Ritual in Sanskrit fiction" in the Journal of Ganganath Institute, Allahabad. Vol. VII. (1949-50) pp. 125 ff.

[28] See *Ṣoḍaśaratnamālā*, p. 18.

[29] *Cat. Cat.* p. 481 and also other works about Yoginīs mentioned there.

[30] *Ed.* Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, Śaka 1828.

Following are the names of the Yoginīs from the temple of Bheraghat[31] :—

	Name	*Symbol*	*Remarks.*
(1)	Chatra Saṁvara	deer	
(2)	Ajitā	lion	
(3)	Caṇḍikā*	prostrate man	
(4)	Mānadā	lotus	
(5)	Kāmadā	yoni	
(6)	Brahmāṇī* (32)	goose	
(7)	Māheśvarī*	bull	
(8)	Taṅkārī	lion	has six hands
(9)	Tāpanī	horse	is also read as Jayantī
(10)	Haṃsā	flowers	with a Vīṇā
(11)	Raṇājirā	elephant	
(12)	………	serpent	
(13)	Haṃsinī	goose	has four hands
(14)	……		
(15)	Īśvarī*	bull	has four hands
(16)	Sthāṇvī	hill-peak	has four hands and Vīṇā
(17)	Indrajālī	elephant	has four hands
(18)	………	bull and skeleton	
(19)	………		
(20)	Ṭhakiṇī	camel	has four hands
(21)	Phaṇendrī	prostrate man	
(22)	………		
(23)	Uttālā	bull	
(24)	Laṁpaṭā	bird-faced tortoise	has eight hands
(25)	*Jābā*	peacock	is also spelt as Ūhā (Sarasvatī)
(26)	Ritsamādā	bear	
(27)	Gāndhārī	horse	has four hands and wings
(28)	*Jāhnavī*	crocodile	has four hands
(29)	Ḍākiṇī	man and skeleton	is clad in lion skin

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[31] Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, IX; R. D. Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, p. 78 ff.

[32] The Mātṛ-paṭṭas are found at Haveri (in Dharwar) and at Nemar Siddhanātha Temple. See *Arch. Sur. Rep.* Western Circle, 1920-22 p. 101.

	Name	*Symbol*	*Remarks*
(30)	Bandhanī	man	
(31)	Darpahārī	lion	is lion-headed with garland of skulls
(32)	Vaiṣṇavī*	garuḍa	is sitting on Garuḍa
(33)	Raṅgiṇī	,,	
(34)	*Rūpiṇī*	crocodile	Narmadā (?)
(35)	Śākinī	vulture	
(36)	Ghaṇṭālī	bell	
(37)	Ḍhaddharī	elephant	is elephant-headed
(38)	....		
(39)	Jaṅghinī	bull	
(40)	Bhīṣaṇī	prostrate man	has four hands
(41)	Śatanu Saṁvara	horse	,, ,, ,,
(42)	Gahanī	ram	,, ,, ,,
(43)	....		,, ,, ,,
(44)	Ḍeḍḍarī (33)	saddled horse	is also spelt as Duḍurī?
(45)	Vārāhī*	bear	
(46)	Nālinī	bull	has cow's head
(47)	....		
(48)	Nādinī	lion	
(49)	Indrāṇī*	elephant	
(50)	Erurī	cow	with cow's head
(51)	Saṇḍinī	donkey	Kālikā (?)
(52)	Eṅginī	man with elephant-head	is elephant-headed
(53)	Teraṁvā	bear	
(54)	Terañṭa	mahiṣāsura	Chaṇḍikā, with 20 arms
(55)	Pārvatī	prostrate man	has ten arms
(56)	Vāyuvena	antelope	
(57)	Abheravardhanī	bird	
(58)	....		
(59)	Sarvatomukhī	lotus and double trangle	has 3 heads and 12 arms
(60)	Maṅdodarī	two men worshipping	

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33 At Jajpur (Cuttock) Vārāhī is shown with a buffalo as her Vahana, see 'Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa",

	Name	*Symbol*	*Remarks*
(61)	Khemukhī	long-beaked bird	
(62)	Jāmbavī	bear	
(63)	Audārā	naked man	
(64)	………		
(65)	Sthiracchittā	man with folded hands	
(66)	*Yamunā*	turtle	
(67)	………		
(68)	Bibhatsā	prostrate man and skeleton	
(69)	Siṁhānanā*	lion-headed man	Nārasiṁhī
(70)	Nīladaṁbarā	garuḍa	
(71)	………		
(72)	Antakārī	bull	
(73)	………		
(74)	Piṅgalā	peacock	(Kaumārī ?)
(75)	Akkhalā	two men worshipping	
(76)	Kṣatradharmiṇī	elephant	has four hands and a garland of skulls
(77)	Vīrendrī	horse-head and prostrate man	has 4 hands and sword
(78)	………		
(79)	Riḍhālidevī	animal with claws	

Many of the niches in the temple are vacant; almost all the Yoginīs are surrounded by *pretas*: as the hands of many of them are broken their weapons cannot be decided; in some cases the female attendants are given the weapons of the goddesses (e.g. No. 8). These were the Yoginīs whom Matsyendra propitiated for the attainment of supernatural *siddhis*.

IV. *Yoginī-Worship, a Transition*:

It has been observed that the Yoginī cult of Matsyendra was a transition from Śaivism to Śāktism on the evidence from the stories given in the *Yogisampradāyāviṣkṛti*, *Navanāthabhaktisāra* and such other works. It appears that in the age in which Matsyendra flourished (c.8-10 cent. A.C.)[34] there was already a form of Śaivism in which Śiva was worshipped as surrounded by his Śaktis. The *Mālatī-mādhava* of Bhavabhūti supplies evidence on this point. It describes the centre of activities of the followers of this kind of Śaivism viz. the Kāpālikas at "Srī-parvata" and brings before us the character of Aghoraghaṇṭa, a Kāpālika who worshipped Cāmuṇḍā-Karāla. Kapālakuṇḍalā, the female disciple of this Kāpālika, had supernatural powers including that of the *Khecarī vidyā*. She describes the object of devotion of the Kāpālikas:

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[34] This is also the age of the Yoginī temples according to Cunningham and Banerji.

षडधिकदशनाडीचक्रमध्यस्थितात्मा
हृदि विनिहितरूपः सिद्धिदस्तद्विदां यः ।
अविचलितमनोभिः साधकैर्मृग्यमाणः
स जयति परिणद्धः शक्तिभिः शक्तिनाथः ॥ (5.1)

Here we have an unmistakable reference to the Yogic description of Śiva as encircled by his Śaktis which agrees with the Yoginī cult of Matsyendra: for in it also Śiva is contemplated as encircled by Yoginīs, i.e. by Śaktis. The Kāpālikas perhaps represented the terrible aspect of this joint Śiva-Śakti cult[35] whose mild side is represented by Saudāminī in the drama. She is described as a Yoginī and she too had her attainments at the same Śrī-parvata and she too possessed all the supernatural powers including those of *Khecari* and *Ākarṣiṇī*.[36] The Kāpālikas were most probably not doing well and hence Matsyendra took upon himself the work of reorientation by bringing together the austere Śaivism based upon Yoga and the cult of Yoginīs, i.e. Śaktis. "Śaktinātha surrounded by Śaktis" is another expression of the fact that Śiva is surrounded by the circle of Yoginīs—a Yogic conception attained by a Sādhaka in his own body.

V. *Relics of the Yoginī Cult*

The Yoginīs have their temples in India. These five temples are known so far. They are at Khajuraho (in Bundelkhand), at Bheraghat (in north Madhya Pradesh), at Rani Jharial (in south-east of Madhya Pradesh), at Surada (in Orissa) and at Coimbatore (in the South). It may be observed that all these temples are not far away from the Śrīparvata and in the same way they surround the temple of Matsyendranātha on Amarakaṇṭaka.[37] Except the one at Khajuraho, other Yoginī temples are circular in shape and open to sky. At Khajuraho the circular shape was found impracticable owing to the narrowness of the ridge on which it is built.[38] In each of these temples there are 64 cells. The idea is that the Yoginīs move in a group of 64 in the sky and when they come down they form a circle. That is why their temples are circular in shape and open to sky. Each of these temples had an entrance from the south, though at some later date it was closed up for some reason.

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[35] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Śaivism, Vaṣṇavism and other Sects*, p. 182-183.

[36] *Mālatī-mādhava*, 9, 52. गुरुचर्यातपस्तन्त्रमन्त्रयोगाभियोगजाम् । इमामाकर्षिणी' सिद्धिम् ..

For the spread of Nāthism in the South see "The Kānphāṭā Jogis in Southern History," Dr. B. A. Saletore: *Poona Orientalist*, Jan. 1937.

The temple at Khajuraho has no central shrine; still there is a central platform as at Bheraghat. At Rani Jharial there is a central conopy as at Surada. All the temples are alike in structure and sculpture. In the Rani Jharial cloister, under the small *chattra* on four pillars there is enshrined an eight-armed and three-headed Śiva, holding in two hands of his a snake and in the others a cup, an hour-glass, a rosary, a skull, a trident and an indistinct object. He has a bull for his symbol on the pedestal. There is Gaṇeśa and also Pārvatī. Similarly at Surada there is a central *Maṇḍapa* on which is carved a sitting figure resting on a bullock and an elephant. The figure has three faces; in its right hand there is a trident, in the left hand a lotus etc. In the Bheraghat temple also there is a platform at the centre, but the image of Śiva is removed from the central position to the adjoining temple built at a later date.[39]

The sites for these Yoginī temples were chosen very carefully and they were connected with some queen. It appears that in c. 8-10 centuries A.C., the Yoginī cult was in a flourishing condition. This was the age when the Kalacuri kings were ruling in this part of India.[40]

An effort has been made to connect the Yoginī temple at Bheraghat with the Matta-Mayūra sect of Śaivism.[41] If there was such a connection, it will have to be shown that the other Yoginī temples also were similarly connected with the Matta Mayūra sect. It has been admitted that "most of the Yoginīs are of the time of Yuvarājadeva I, but some are of much earlier age……"; again having stated that the Ācaryas of the Matta Mayūra *maṭha* belonged to the Śaiva sect as opposed to that of the Pāśupatas; we are told that a Pāsupata by name Rudrarāśi was placed in charge of the temple of Śiva by name Vaidyanātha; lastly it is argued that "a branch of Matta Mayūra clan was found at Bheraghat and because the Yoginī temple was hypethral, therefore, the monastery established by its side came to be known as 'Golki' which does not establish any connection between the temple of Yoginīs and the Matta-Mayūra clan. A little of the philosophy of this clan is also given but that too is silent about the Yoginīs. On the other hand the connections between Matsyendranātha and the Yoginī cult clearly explain the purpose for which the Yoginī temples were built. Some queen might have been interested in the cultivation of this cult.

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[37] Banerji, *Haibayas of Tripurī and their monuments,* plate XVI.

[38] Cunningham, *Arc. Sur. Rep.* IX. p. 74.

[39] During the reign of Alhaṇadevi, perhaps, the central shrine was removed to its present position. This is a clear indication of the change of cult. The Yoginī was being forgotten.

[40] Banerji, *Haibayas and their Monuments,* p. 69.

V. W. KARAMBELKAR

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[41] Mm. V. V. Mirashi, *The Saiva Ācāryas of the Matta Mayūra Clan*, in *IHQ.*, XXVI, 1950. pp. 1-16.

The Picture of Ancient India as revealed in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya

In certain aspects the *Pātañjal Mahābhāṣya* occupies a unique place in Sanskrit literature. It does not in fact come within the purview of pure literature inasmuch as in its entire bulk, the *Mahābhāṣya* illustrates the aphorisms of grammar and postutales the principles on dialectics. But the whole volume is replete with various information about the then society, and taken together, these furnish a picture which, though not well drawn, is of no less importance as an invaluable document of contemporary Indian society. Thus we can know of the methods of agriculture, system of irrigation, principles of taxation, distribution of land, divisions of countries, position of women, distinction of castes, supremacy of the Brahmins in social life, and of such other social customs. All these present a vivid and pulsating picture of ancient Indian life.

Without discussing the vexed question of the date of Patañjali I am taking it for granted that Patañjali appeared not later than the first century B.C. That was the time of the Suṅgas, the Kāṇvas and the Andhras. Puṣyamitra ascended the throne of the Mauryas after killing his master Bṛhadratha Maurya and performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The sacerdotal aspect of the Hindu religion marked by an elaborate sacrificial structure heralded the revival of Hinduism.

Sacrifices involving the killing of animals played the most predominant part in the life of the people (cf. आर्त्विजीनाः स्याम इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्, also यूपश्च नाम पश्वनुबन्धनार्थमुपादीयते, शक्यं चानेन यत् किंचिदेव काष्ठमुच्छ्रृत्यानुच्छ्रृत्य वा पशुरनुबन्धुम्।) Some of the social customs and ritualistic technicalities of the Vedic days also came down to this age (cf. पयोव्रतो ब्राह्मणः यवागूव्रतो राजन्यः आमिक्षाव्रतो वैश्यः इत्युच्यते). The influence of the Vedic culture was still there; it is not only in Patañjali's *Mahābhaṣya* but also in the works of contemporary writers like Kālidāsa where this influence of Vedic customs and ceremonies could be traced.

Agriculture and cattle-rearing were the chief means of livelihood of the people of that time. Agriculture was, so to say, the national occupation. Those who were the masters of the field, those who cultivated by engaging labourers, the labourers who actually tilled the fields—all of them were denoted by the general term 'cultivator'. It was nevertheless an honourable profession (cf. कृष्यादिषु चानुत्पत्तिर्नाना क्रियाणां कृष्यर्थत्वात् । नाना क्रियाः कृषेरर्थाः । नावश्यं कृषतिर्विलेखने एव वर्तते, किं तर्हि ? प्रतिविधानेऽपि वर्तते । etc. under the rule हेतुमति च). The text furnishes a vivid picture of the system of agriculture. The process was however antiquated and the instruments were crude—plough, spade and cow (cf. पञ्चभिर्हलैः कृषतीति । यस्तु खलु निर्वातै निरभिवर्षे अचिरकालकृतः. कुसूलः स्वयमेव भिद्यते तस्य नान्यः कर्त्ता भवति अन्यदतः कुसूलात्...यत्रासौ देवदत्तो दात्रहस्तः समन्ततो विपरिपतन् दृश्यते, under the rule कर्मवत् कर्मणातुल्यक्रियः). Indian agriculture did not depend on uncertain monsoons. Artificial irrigation system was in vogue (cf. शाल्यर्थं कुल्याः प्रणीयन्ते ताभ्यश्च पानीयं पीयते). कुसूल means a 'dyke.' Each paddy field had a dyke around it and these regulated the flow of water into the plot of land. Wells were dug to help watering (cf. कूपखानकः कूपं खनन् यद्यपि मृदा पांशुभिश्चावकीर्णो भवति सोऽप्सु संजातासु तत एव etc. etc.). This method of artificial irrigation came down to the later ages. The soil was fertile. We can arrive at this conclusion from the two instances cited under the rule वर्णो वर्णेन where the examples "एकेन माषेण शतसहस्रम्, एकेन कुद्दालपदेन खारीसहस्रम्" are quoted. Terms like धानाशष्कुलिनी etc. also bear out the truth of the observation. There was difference in the degree of the fertility of the soil. Prior to tilling, the condition of the soil was taken into consideration (cf. सम्पद्यन्तेऽस्मिन् क्षेत्रे शालय इति under the rule कृभ्वस्तियोगे सम्पद्यकर्तरिच्विः ५/८।५०). Some parts of the country were so fertile that they yielded all sorts of crops while other parts could produce only one kind of crop. In some cases we find references to red coloured paddy (cf. सर्वबीजी ग्रामः, लोहितशालिमान् ग्रामः under वर्णो वर्णेन). To fight against rainy days crops were stored up in every family (cf. अवश्यं खल्वपि कोष्ठगतेस्वपि शालिषु अवहननादीनि प्रतीक्ष्याणि). It may be inferred from the references that the economic condition of the people was generally good and the people lived generally in affluent circumstances. Rice, wheat, barley, pulses were the chief agricultural crops. Paddy was the principal crop of India (धान्येन धनवान्).

Rearing of cattle was not only a means of subsistence, but was likewise looked upon as a sign of affluence (cf. व्रीहिमन्तौ, गोमन्तौ). Like cattle, kids and goats were looked upon as properties (अजाविधनो यज्ञदत्त देवदत्तो-तत्र न ज्ञायते कस्याजा धनम् कस्यावय इति). Proper care for preserving the cattle was taken. Men were specially engaged to

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look after the health of the cows and horses (cf. गोचिकित्सक and अश्वचिकित्सक) and this gives rise to the notion that something akin to the present veterinary system was probably prevalent then (cf. आर्षभ्या वतसः। ऋषभार्थो घासः। गुणान्तरयुक्तवतस आर्षभ्यः under छदिरुपधिबलेर्ढञ् ५।१।१३। and गोः सक्थनि कर्णे वा कृतं लिङ्गं गोरेव विशेषकं भवति न गोमण्डलस्य under the rule पूर्ववत्सनः १।३।६२।—also अङ्किता गाव इत्युच्यते, अन्यास्यो गोभ्यः प्रकाशन्ते). The rearing of cattle was not only confined to the rural but to the urban population as well (cf. यथा लोके आढ्यमिदं नगरं गोमदिदं नगरम् etc.).

Trade was conducted generally by the barter system of exchange though in some places coins served as a medium of exchange (cf. अन्येन हि वस्त्रं नैकं गां...अन्येन द्यौः अन्येन तोन्···पञ्चभिः पट्टीभिः क्रीतः पञ्चपटुः etc.) Paddy in most of the places served as a convenient means of exchange (cf. अध्यर्धशूर्पम् अर्धपञ्चमशूर्पम् etc.). Pottery, carpentry, weaving were the subsidiary occupations. The society comprised of the different classes of people e.g. potter, carpenter, barber, washerman etc. (reference to पञ्चकारुकी). We find references to the method of weaving and making of clothings (cf. अस्यसूत्रस्य शाढकं वयेति। स पश्यति यदि शाढको न वातव्यः, वातव्यो न शाठकः etc. under the rule तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे). Dexterity in weaving was valued most. Production was not confined to the making of coarse garment but of fine clothing as well. Some were priced high, others low, according to the quality and cost of production. The market varied according to the quality of the production, (cf. एवं हि दृश्यते लोके समाने आयामे विस्तारे पठस्यार्घोऽन्यो भवति काशिकस्य अन्यो माथुरस्य। गुणान्तरं च खल्वपि शिल्पिन उत्पादयमाना द्रव्यान्तरेण प्रक्षालयन्ति। अन्येन शुद्धं धौतकं कुर्वन्ति, अन्येन शैफालिकम् अन्येन माध्यमिकम्। under the rule अतिशायने तमबिष्ठनौ।)

Localisation, at least in the field of production, was manifest. Particular countries excelled in the production of particular commodities—the text explicitly refers to it (cf. तानेव शाठकानाच्छादयामः ये मथुरायाम्, तानेव शालीन् भुञ्ज्महे ये मगधेषु—तदेवेदं भवतः कार्षापणं यन्मथुरायाम् गृहीतम् etc.). The principle of division of labour was pressed into service leading to specialisation and skill of the workers in their respective fields. Any one engaged in any profession could not change it.

Though the people lived in a high level of economic self-sufficiency the country was not immune from the curse of beggary. Beggary as a profession was prevalent at that time (cf. एवं हि दृश्यते लोके भिक्षुकोऽयं द्वितीयां भिक्षां समासाद्य पूर्वां न जहाति, सञ्चयायैव प्रवर्तते under समर्थः पदविधिः). The occurence of famine at least in the age of Patañjali was few and far between. Taxes and revenues were generally paid in terms of commodities (cf. महाराजार्थो वलिः स महाराजार्थो भवति ; अविकटे उरणे दातव्यः अविकटोरणः).

The existence of middlemen and money-lenders and *mahājan* is the hallmark of Indian agricultural economy and this has come down up to the present age. But inspite of the malign influence of the *mahājan* class, usury and extortion seldom took place on account of the vigilant eye of the king (cf. असौ अल्पं दत्वा बहु गृह्णाति तद्गर्ह्यम् ।...द्विगुणं मे स्यादिति प्रयच्छति द्वैगुणिकः, त्रैगुणिकः).

Wars and other political calamities could not generally affect the ordinary people. Certain principles of morality were followed even in times of war (cf. क्षेमे सुभिक्षे कृतसञ्चयानि पराणि राज्ञां विनयन्ति कोपम्). The text prescribes in clear terms the wages to be paid to the workers (कर्मकराः कुर्वन्ति पणिकमहर्लप्स्यामहे इति). Labourers were to be paid one anna daily (पणिक) while higher wages were offered to superior workers. We find also injunctions being laid down to this effect in the *Manuṣaṃhitā*[1].

> "पणो देयोऽवकृष्टस्य षडुत्कृष्टस्य च भक्तकम् ।
> षाण्मासिकस्तथाच्छादो धान्यद्रोणस्तु मासिकः ।"

Though Patañjali was posterior to the *Manusaṃhitā* yet the principles of taxation at least remained the same.

But the great importance of the *Mahābhāṣya* lies perhaps in its presenting the geographical division of India in the pre-Christian eras. The whole body of the text mentions once again numerous cities of considerable importance. Thus the names of Hastināpura, Vāraṇaśī, Pāṭaliputra, Mathurā etc. are frequently met with; of the provinces Pāñcāla, Magadha, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kāshmīr, Kāmboja, Saurāṣtra, Prācya, Madhya etc. have been referred to (cf. सुपाञ्चालक, सुमागधक, आंगक, वांगक, and शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कामबोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति, विकार एनमार्या शव इति । हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुञ्जते ।)

Again there were peculiarities in the dialects adopted in different countries. The divisions however agree with those enumerated in the काव्यमीमांसा some centuries later. There the author gives the order of the geographical division as[2]—

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[1] *Manusamhita*, Ch. VII. Sl. 126.

[2] *Kāvyamimāṃsā*—G. O. S. ch. XVII.

"तत्र वाराणस्याः पुरतः पूर्वदेशः। यत्राङ्गकलिङ्गकोसलतोसलोत्कलमगधमुद्गरविदेह नेपालपुण्ड्रप्राग्ज्योतिषताम्रलिप्तकमलदमल्लवर्त्तकसुह्मब्रह्मोत्तरप्रभृतयो जनपदाः।......... देवसभायाः परतः पश्चाद्देशः। तत्र देवसभसुराष्ट्रदशेरकत्रवणभृगुकच्छकच्छीयानर्त्तार्बुदब्राह्मणवाहयवनप्रभृतयो जनपदाः।...पृथूदकात्परत उत्तरापथः। यत्रशककेकयवोक्काणहूणवाणायुज काम्बोजवाह्लीक वह्लवलिम्पाककुलूत...जनपदाः।...गंगासिन्धुसरस्वती शतद्रुचन्द्रभाग यमुनेरावती...नद्यः।...तेषां मध्ये मध्यदेश इति कविव्यवहारः।..."

That this geographical division was fixed and remained almost unchanged inspite of various incursions of different tribes can be proved by referring to a number of other works. Thus the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* which was prior to the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* and posterior to the *Mahābhāṣya* enumerates—"

...तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चाला मध्यदेशादयो जनाः।
पूर्व्वदेशादिकाश्चैव कामरूपनिवासिनः॥
पुण्ड्राः कलिंगा मगधा दाक्षिणात्याश्च सर्व्वशः।
तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः शूराभीरास्तथार्बुदाः॥
कारूषा मालवाश्चैव पारियात्रनिवासिनः।"[3]

In his commentary on the वात्स्यायनकामसूत्र Jayamangala also says—वङ्गा लौहित्यात् पूर्वेण। अङ्गा मदानद्याः पूर्वेण। कलिगा गौडविषयाद्दक्षिणेन। वाह्लीकदेश्या उत्तरापथिकाः...आवन्तिका उज्जयिनीदेशभवाः। ता एवापरमालव्यः—Cunningham speaks of the geographical division of India thus—

(a) "Western India comprised Sindh and western Rajputana, with Kachh and Gujrat, and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narbada river.

(b) Central India comprised the whole of the Gangetic provinces from Thaneswar to the head of the Delta, and from the Himālaya mountains to the banks of the Narbada river.

(c) Eastern India comprised Assam and Bengal proper, including the whole of the Delta of the Ganges, together with Sambalpur, Orissa, and Ganjam."[4] To put in short, it is clear from the foregoing observation that the geographical distribution of India remained more or less unchanged for centuries before the Muslim invasion.

The text hints at the boundary of the Āryāvarta as stretching upto mount Ādarśa on the east, up to Prayāga on the west, and bordered by the Vindhyas on the south and the Himālayas on the north.

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3 *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, II. 3.

4 *Ancient Geography of India* by Cunningham. p. 11.

The trace of the mountain Ādarśa cannot be found in the map of India at present (cf. प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनात् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुत्तरेण पारियात्रम्। एतस्मिन्नार्यावर्त्ते निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्याः अलोलुपाः अगृह्यमानकारणाः...) Some of the important cities and villages of the time have been referred to by the author in the *Mahābhāṣya*. These are Śivapura, Daśarupya, Sausuka, Nisāhakarṣu, Trigatta, Garga, Vatsa, Malwa, Kampilya, Pātālaprastha, Kancīpura, Nandipūra, Vātavaha, Aṣṭaka, Maunja and others. It is however an impossible task to locate them in the map of India.

Villages were named in accordance with their vicinity to the particular town. Thus a village adjacent to Mathurā was called Māthura village. The villages were closely situated, (cf. अनन्तराविमौ ग्रामौ under the rule दृष्टमानन्तर्यम् व्यवहितेऽपि). It is rather peculiar to note that villages not only meant localities but very often a collection of houses, at other times the people inhabiting them. The students and the people went over to the towns and the villages for purposes of study and settled down there. This migration of population frequently took place. The system of education as a consequence never remained segregated. (cf. इह यस्य ग्रामे नगरे वा अनेकं कार्यं भवति, शक्नोत्यसौ तत्तान्यतरत् व्यपदेष्टुम ।) Every village had some sort of wall encircling it. This was done probably as a measure of safety (cf. अस्ति वाटपरिक्षेपे वर्त्तते ।). Villages contained not merely huts but big houses too. (cf. केचित् प्रासादवासिनः केचित् भूमिवासिनः केचिदुभयवासिनः). As in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* we find here a few references which tend to prove that the people had some knowledge of architecture. Of the materials for preparing houses bricks were frequently used. Though we find references to the art of building houses in the Vedic texts yet it deserves special mention in this context (cf. पक्वेष्टकं चिन्वीत, इष्टकतुलेन ।).

The age being one of the revival of Brahminism, the caste system was rigidly adhered to—but the text in no place betrays that there was social injustice or oppression. On the other hand there are overt references which go to prove unmistakably that there was a bitter feeling of animosity towards the Buddhists, whose influence had considerably subsided during that period. Inheritance to a particular caste was a matter of birth right (cf. जननेन या प्राप्यते सा जातिः under the rule अतिशायने तमबिष्ठनौ ५. ३. ५). In no case, change of caste was possible.

The *Pātañjal Mahābhāṣya* also furnish a convincing proof of the status of women in ancient India. The women of the day received considerable amount of education and enjoyed a privileged social status. (cf. काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणो under एको गोत्रे and अभिरूपतमाय कन्या देया इति। न चानभिरूपे प्रवृत्तिरस्ति तत्त अभिरूपतमाय इति गम्यते।) The text at places cites a few instances which throw light on the transport system and means of conveyances in ancient India. Thus there were some main roads for communication—the villages were linked with one another by means of roads. People used to ride on horses and camels for going from one place to another. There were various types of routes—river routes, routes through forests, through main tracts of land and others (cf. examples cited under उत्तरपथेनाहृतञ्च ५।१।७७). Chariots and carts were in general drawn by horses, though camels were very often put into use. This is inferred from such stray references as औष्ट्ररथिकः, आश्वरथिकः, गार्दभरथिकः. It may however be safely asserted that maritime activities went on in full swing in India and this is clear from the references found in many books including the *Śakuntalā*. The text explicitly refers to it. (cf. नौर्नावि वद्धा नेतरत्राणाय भवति।). The system of navigation consisted mainly of boats and ships* The general condition of the country was fertile and the country was rich in products. (cf. सुभिक्षः सम्पन्नपानीयः बहुमाल्यफलो देशः)

The set-up of the society was rather orthodox, Brahmins exercising the most predominant sway. But there was free social intercourse. In feasts and ceremonies people ate together irrespective of the differences of caste and creed. Feeling of sacrifice, at least, inspired the people to maintain social harmony, (cf. समाजेषु समवायेषु चाऽस्यतामित्युक्ते न चोच्यते···). The life of a Brahmin was full of ritualistic practices. Reverence for old age was the distinguishing feature of Indian social customs. Bad manners especially among youths were despised. (य इदानीम् पितृमान् स्वतन्त्रो भवति स उच्यते गार्ग्यस्त्वमसि जाल्म). The students were as a rule obedient, dutiful, industrious and honest. The system of study in ancient India unlike the system prevalent in these days was residential. Students had to live with the preceptor. Students had to undergo a severe test of discipline in order to qualify themselves for the required training under the teacher. It was considered to be the sacred duty of the students to stand by the teacher in all circumstances (cf. किं यस्य छत्रधारणम् शीलम् स छात्रः ? किश्चातः etc).

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* Dr. Mookherjee's article on "Shipping and Maritime activities in ancient India" and also G. V. Joshi's article on the same topic published in *Modern Review*, Feb. 1908.

Stray references here and there tend to prove that the people were fond of luxury and pleasures of the like. Curiously enough we come across a name 'तिलकल्कः' which means boot polish. (cf. उपानदर्थस्तिलकल्कः). That the peeple had a genuine sense of humour and wit can be understood from a careful analysis of the proverbs and usages—these being handed down traditionally—as दशदाड़िमानि षड़पूपाः कुण्डमजाजिनं पललपिण्डः. Also such uses as वृद्धाकुमारी इन्द्रेणोक्ता वरं वृणीष्व point to the refined banterings and satirical tendency of the people. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* a later contemporary of the *Mahābhāṣya* furnishes a lucid exposition of the psychology of the people of the day. Vices were present in the society. A class of people very often resorted to drinking and spent wild hours in the ugly quarters (cf. खेदात् स्त्रीषु प्रवृत्तिः भवति। समानश्च खेदविगमो गम्यायां चागम्यायां च। तत्त नियमः क्रियते इयं गम्या इयमगम्येति।). Drinking habits were not infrequent among the people (स एवमसौ सुरां पिबति।). Similar references can be found in the works of Kālidāṣa—उद्दामानि प्रथयति शिलावेश्मभिर्यौवनानि Megha. Instances of infant-mortality and miscarriage present an unhealthy side of the picture. (cf. तथा असूतायामसोष्यमाणायाम् च भवति प्रथमगर्भेण हतेति under अवचनाल्लोकविज्ञानात् सिद्धम्।).

We have thus before us the picture of a society which comprised of astrologers, sandal-wood merchants, snake-charmers, physicians, nomads, inspectors of cows and horses, students, soldiers, lawyers, preceptors, doctors, procurers, prostitutes, unlawful extortioners (आयः शूलिकः) and men of various types and characters.

DILEEP KUMAR KANJILAL

9 Sheets

REVIEWS

CIVIL DISTURBANCES DURING THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA (1765-1857) by Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, M. A., Ph. D. 239pp+XXIII.

Dr. Chaudhuri's work, as the title shows, is an account of the civil commotions in different parts of India in the pre-mutiny period. Reaction and resistance to British rule in India has had a long history though unity of purpose and co-ordination of effort are of comparatively recent growth. The author knows the limitations of his subject. Civil Disturbances, as he has explained, have a wide connotation, including different kinds of rebellion and insurrection against the ruling authority, assuming various forms of expression. The causes too are varied, sometimes agrarian, sometimes political, and not very infrequently communal. It is difficult to cover the whole field, printed material for the study of which is large and voluminous. Dr. Chaudhuri has therefore rightly selected that portion of documentary evidence which reveals a particular aspect of the British rule in India, its character and consequence. His facts and findings are thus fully documented. Though the scope of his work is defined, as it ought to be if only to avoid unhistorical generalisation, he has succeeded in showing that he is well acquainted with methodology and the main principles of historical criticism.

The author has described and analysed as many as fifty three samples of popular revolt or opposition in different parts of the British Indian Empire,—Bengal and Upper India, Madras and Southern India, Bombay and Western India, Ceylon, Burma and Malacca. Not all such opposition was clearly conceived, designed or concerted. Interests, private and otherwise, were often mixed up. Yet from this welter of confused and sporadic outbursts of discontent emerges a pattern of action, not perhaps clearly planned and rationalised, but a pattern nonetheless, the outlines of which bring out in some relief the unsatisfactory nature of alien rule and the rather precarious peace called Pax Britannica.

The author's credit lies not in chronicling the disturbances or giving summaries of such events as can be restored from secondary sources. His fine achievement lies in the judicious selection of material, in its proper handling and in his cautious impartial attempt to relate those facts to a steadily mounting desire for freedom. He has succeeded in giving some shape to the economic and political background that lies hazily behind the revolt of 1857. As such he has done a pioneer's work and this small volume will have to be recognised for all it has sought to do. Prof. Sarkar's Introduction deserves careful reading for the pertinent comments he has made on the scope and merit of the work. Particular attention of the readers should be drawn to three well-written sections in the book, viz., Approach to the Subject, Historical Background, and Concluding Remarks. The author's style and presentation add substantially to the native interest of the book while he seems to be quite free from the circumscription of a specialist. He has attempted valuation and appraisal in the proper perspective, and has not just gone out to find facts to fit them into a thesis.

BIMAL PRASAD MUKHERJEE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia (A pud Ejnar Munksgaard, Havniae) vol. XXII, Pars a et 2, 1955

Raghu Vira and Lokesh Candra.—*Study in Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (Book 1).*

Acta Orientalia (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae). Tomus V, Fasc. 1-2

J. Vekerdi.—*On Past Tense and Verbal Aspects in the Ṛgveda.*

Artibus Asiae, vol. XVIII, 1

H. Goetz.—*Early Indian Sculptures from Nepal.*

J. Leroy Davidson.—*Gandhāran Exhibits at Yale and Harvard.*

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, vol. XIII, nos. 1-4

Gulab V. Davane.—*Nominal Composition in Indo-Aryan.* This is an analytical study of compounds in Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali and Prakrit). The formation of nouns, adjectives and other parts of speech which are constituents of the nominal composition are also explained in this long paper.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. XVIII, part 1 (1956)

H. W. Bailey.—*Iranian Miṣṣa, Indian Bīja.* The discussion in the paper suggests connection of the Indian word *bījam* and words like *maiz* in old Iranian, *miṣṣa* in Middle Iranian and *mūṣa* in Khotanese. These cognates all point to some thing connected with 'seed'.

A. K. Warder.—*On the Relationships between Early Buddhism and other Contemporary Systems.* The important systems besides Brāhmaṇism which appear to have exerted their influence upon the Indian society at the time of Buddha's advent are conjectured to have been those of the Ājīvikas, the Nirgranthas, the Lokāyatas and the proto-Sāṅkhya. Some of the special features of Buddhism, which differentiate it from one or the other of the prevalent systems, have been discussed in the paper e.g. non-acceptance of the traditional authority, opposition to fatalism, theory of impermanence and anatta, theories of universal causation, four indeterminates or antinomies, idea of liberation through the mean between the poles of enjoyment and austerity.

East and West, V. 2

Giuseppe Tucci.—*Fifty Years of Study of Oriental Art.*

Mario Vallauri.—*Ancient Indian Medicine.*

N. Hariharam.—*India's Temples proclaim her Architectural Glory.*

Janak Lal Sarma.—*Nepal's Sculptural Art.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

vol. 75, no. 4 (October-December, 1955)

D. D. Kasambi.—*The Basis of Ancient Indian History* (II). This study of the social and economic evolution of the ancient Indian people from their tribal beginnings, deals here in its second instalment with the following : Rise and Decline of Trade, Land Grants and fields and Inhabitants.

Bh. Krishnamurti.—*The History of Vowel-length in Telugu Verbal Bases.*

Alex Wayman.—*Notes on the Sanskrit Term jñāna.* A consideration of the etymology and usage indicates that the Sanskrit words *jñāna* and *vidyā* have their cognates in 'Knowledge' and 'Wisdom'. In the philosophical context *vijñāna* sometimes carries the sense of perception. But in Buddhism *vijñāna* is also used in its etymological meaning 'devoid of knowledge'.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,

vol. 29, pt. II (1954)

A. Esteller.—*More on the Mahābhārata Text-criticism.* Instances are cited to show the unsatisfactory character of the constituted texts in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata.* The directive norms as accepted by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for the Edition in regard to the value of the different 'Mss. Tradition streams' are criticized in the paper.

P. M. Modi.—*Bādarāyaṇa Conception of Brahman.* A fresh Interpretation of Brahmasūtra I, 3.

V. Raghavan.—*Kālidāsa and the Smṛtis.* Kālidāsa as revealed in his writings was a close adherent of the Smārta customs. The main idea of the story of Dilīpa tending and propitiating the cow Nandinī as depicted in the *Raghuvaṃśa* has been drawn by the poet directly from Manu.

M. AROKIASWAMI.—*Historical Value of Manuscripts Sources (A critique on the Kongudeśarājākkal and its Connection with the History of the Gaṅgas).* The *Kangudeśarājākkal*, a chronicle of the Rulers of Kongudeśa still in manuscripts, throws valuable light on the genealogy and chronology of the Gaṅgas of Talakad, establishing thereby the importance and reliability of traditional history.

R. C. AGRAWALA.—*A Unique Sculpture of the Jaina Goddess Saccikā.* The image in white marble described here is now preserved in the Sardar Museum of Jodhpur. The broken sculpture, showing the lower portion of a female figure with a buffalo and a lion, apparently represents the well known deity Mahiṣamardinī. In the inscription on the pedestal below the image, the deity is however called Saccikā. It was installed by a Jaina nun in Saṃvat 1237 (= 1180 A.C.).

N. G. CHAPEKAR.—*The Ṛbhus.* This is an account of the Vedic triad Ṛbhu, Vibhu and Vāja mentioned in Vedic literature.

Poona Orientalist, vol. XVIII, nos. 1-4

R. C. AGRAWALA.—*State Communications and Despatches in Central Asia.* Hundreds of documents on wood, silk, leather and paper discovered in various Central Asian sites like Niya, Endere and Loulan are written in Kharoṣṭhī script and Prakrit language. These records of official messages and communications exchanged between the heads of states and their officials supply considerable information of historical value. A short account of some of these communications is given under the following heads : Letters of Command, Letter from Kings' Sons, and Letters of Information and Report.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Senses of* च. Different senses of the particle च discussed in this Note show how the tiny particle has been interpreted to denote various meanings.

—*A New Bhrāja Stanza.* The *Mahābhāsya* of Patañjali has quoted a stanza from the *Bhrāja*, a grammatical work attributed to Kātyāyana. Another stanza occurring in Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* is now surmised to have belonged to the *Bhrāja*. Some other anonymous verses quoted in Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* are also considered to have a Bhrāja character.

BUDDHA PRAKASA.—*Govardhana-pūjā. Its Historical and Cultural Significance.*

P. K. GODE.—*The Tāmbūlakalpasaṃgraha of Nṛsiṃhabhaṭṭa and Its Date—later than c. A. D. 1350.*

S. K. GUPTA.—*Authorship of some of the Hymns of the Ṛgveda.* A hymn or a verse in a hymn in the *Ṛgveda* is traditionally ascribed in the *Anukraṇikā* sometimes to more than one sage. As this multiple ascription is difficult to be accepted, the authorship of the hymns or verses concerned should be determined, as suggested by the writer, by "a comparison of the contents, words, grammatical forms, styles, metres, similes etc. supported by the ascription of verses in a particular hymn occurring in the other Vedas if this ascription is a definite one and relates to one person only".

MAHESWAR NEOG.—*Light on Bengal Vaiṣṇavas from Assamese Sources.* References of Caitanyadeva, Rūpa, Sanātana and Vṛndāvanadāsa found in the biographies of Saṅkaradeva of Assam have been discussed.

GUNDER RAO HARKARE.—*Kāṇḍakramapāṭha.* There are methods of studying the Yajurveda called Sārasvata-pāṭha and Kāṇḍa-krama-pāṭha. The latter is explained here.

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*A Philosophical Interpretation of Kādambarī.* Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is explained as an allegory of the purified Vedānta, "theistic in its conception and integral in its interpretation".

VENKATA KRISHNA RAO.—*Bhāsa's Vidūṣakas.* The Vidūṣakas in the dramas of Bhāsa are shown to have a freshness and vivaciousness of their own.

M. YAMUNACHARYA.—*The Problem of Free will in the Light of Vedāntic Theism.* The school of Vedāntic theism of the Rāmānuja persuasion holds each Jīva as an active and purposeful being (*kartā* and *bhoktā*).

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Press, Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta—9.

A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship......... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

Prof. H. Jacobi.—I have perused your quarterly with great interest........ I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

Prof. J. Jolly of Germany—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship. I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India.

Prof. Sylvain Levi.—Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India. Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years, a progress that I followed with a sincere joy.

Dr. Otto Strauss.—I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years.

Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri, Hony. Member. Royal Asiatic Society: The Quarterly is becoming more and more useful, more and more learned. You deserve the thanks of the Indian public by focussing so many eminent writers in your Quarterly......... I am reading all Oriental Journals, and about India yours is the most informing.